LINUS PAULING AT HIROSHIMA: 'ATOMIC DEATH OR WORLD LAW?' . . . Pages 6-7

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Moon rocket makes world understanding more urgent than ever

ON THE EVE of Soviet Premier Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev's arrival in the U.S., Moscow launched a dramatic salute with great showmanship and even greater scientific skill and accuracy. A Soviet space rocket hit the moon at 5:02:24 p.m. (New York time) on Sept. 13. It was the first time a man-made object had been placed in a celestial body.

The object which crashed into the moon was a hermetically-sealed sphere weighing 858.4 pounds. It carried, among other things, a pennant bearing the inscriptions "Salute to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" on one side; on the other the Soviet hammer and sickle insignia inside a garland and the words "September, 1959."

It travelled 236,875 miles in 35 hours and struck the moon at 7,500 miles an hour. Soviet scientists were only 84 seconds off in predicting the time of impact.

GUARDIAN GOES ALONG

James Aronson, editor of the GUARDIAN, is now touring the U.S. with the Khrushchev party as a member of the press corps. Watch for his first dispatch in next week's issue.

A MATTER OF TIME: Scientists throughout the world hailed the Soviet performance. An official of the U.S. Space Administration said: "We knew it was only a question of time until one side or the other did it. They had the luck and skill to do it first."

It would be some time before the full scientific implications of the bull's-eye on the moon are organized and properly interpreted. Top Soviet scientists have already declared that it is now "especially important to insure extensive international cooperation of scientists, especially the scientists of the Soviet Union and the United States."

But one significance of the Soviet rocket to the moon was already apparent. This was noted by Kenneth W. Gatland, vice president of the British Interplanetary Society. Gatland said:

"It means not only that the Russians possess very large multistage rockets but that they have the ability to aim them with great precision."

A GREATER URGENCY: In the light of this Soviet achievement, the Eisenhower-Khrushchev talks and the Soviet Premier's visit took on greater significance, and the need for East-West understanding on coexistence became more urgent

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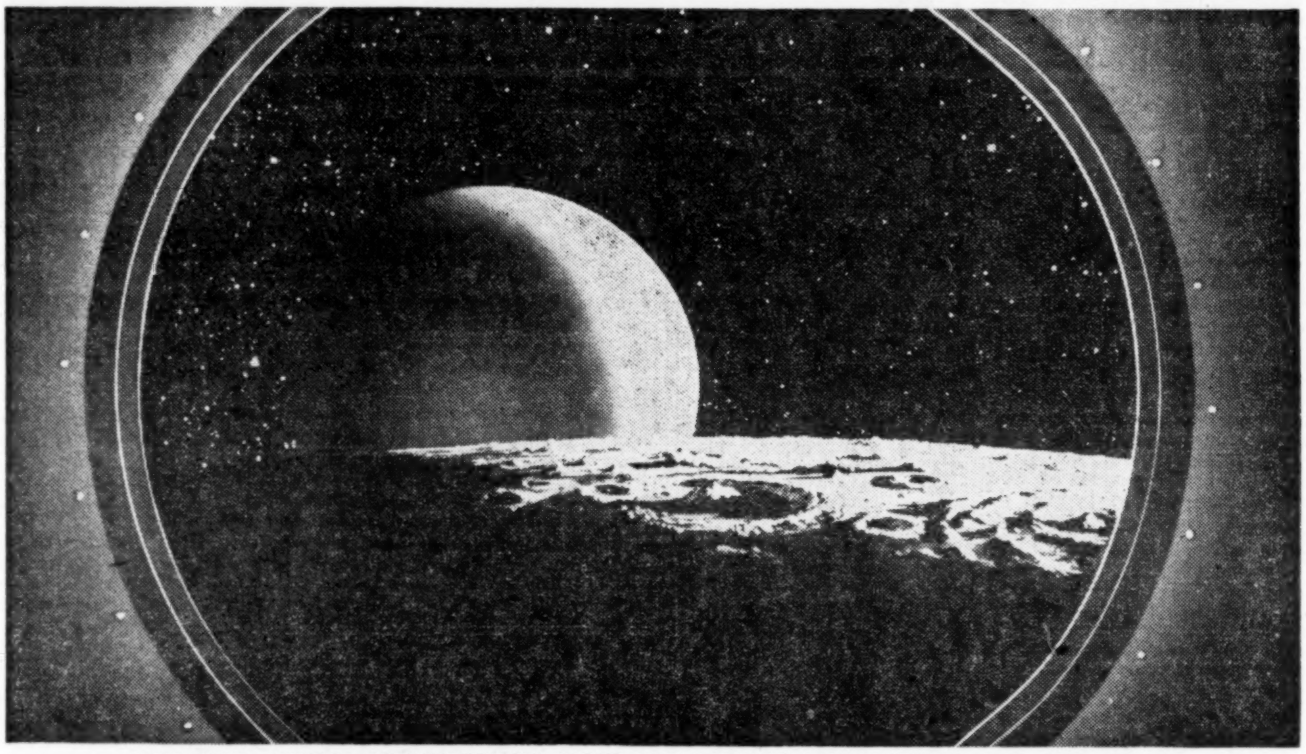

YOU, HOO, NIKITA SERGEYEVICH, HOW ARE THINGS DOWN THERE IN THE U.S.A.?
This is the way the world might look in a photograph from a Soviet rocket on the moon

U.S. LABOR AND THE KHRUSHCHEV VISIT

AFL-CIO leaders want no cold war thaw

> *No one comprehends more thoroughly than we of the AFL-CIO that progress depends on the preservation of peace and that peace can be assured only by the victory of freedom and democracy over the menacing forces of Soviet dictatorship . . . . How can freedom win? Never by relaxing its guard. Never by appeasement. Never by falling victim to the false lure of peaceful co-existence . . . Our victory depends on being able to meet force with greater force . . . on maintaining not only merely a posture, but a position of superior strength.*
> —George Meany, May 17, 1959

By Robert E. Light

THERE SEEMS to be nothing that angers AFL-CIO president George Meany more than a suggestion that Americans should talk with Russians. When word reached him that the White House would be "quite happy" if the AFL-CIO invited Soviet Premier Khrushchev to address its biennial convention in San Francisco, he exploded. "I would reject such a request out of hand," he said. "The government does not tell us what to do."

To prove his point, Meany at a meeting of the AFL-CIO executive council last month took time from discussion of the steel strike and the new "labor reform" law to sponsor a resolution on the Khrushchev visit. It said: "The President's invitation to Mr. Khrushchev does not mean that AFL-CIO should participate in honoring this head of a foreign government which runs a vast network of forced labor camps and which ordered the murder of thousands of Hungarians."

In response to Vice President Nixon's suggestion that Soviet and U.S. union leaders should exchange visits, the council reaffirmed "its declaration of February, 1959, against exchanging delegations with dictatorship countries."

NO BASIC DISAGREEMENT: The resolution passed by a vote of 22 to 3, but there was heated debate. Voting against were: Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers; James B. Carey, president of the Intl. Union of Electrical Workers; and O. A. Knight, president of the Atomic, Oil and Chemical Workers.

Reuther said the split implied no disagreement on "the basic immoral char-

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HOW LODGE SWUNG THE VOTE IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Pressures are on to turn Laos into another Korea

By Kumar Goshal

THE GREAT FUROR in Washington and in the UN over Laos seemed to be astonishingly out of proportion to the events in this little land-locked kingdom in Southeast Asia. But behind the furor there was evidence of an attempt in Washington to turn Laos into another Korea through American military intervention, and to present the UN with an accomplished fact—as was the case with the Korean war.

Columnist Marquis Childs reported (N. Y. **Post**, Sept. 10), that "a powerful drive is on within the upper bureaucracy of Defense and Intelligence to persuade President Eisenhower that he must send American troops into Laos" to prevent it "from collapsing into communism." Childs said the men behind the drive "are confident" that the UN team of inquiry will confirm aggression against Laos, and the Laotian government will then appeal to SEATO for military help.

THE STRATEGY: The interventionists, he said, have worked out all the details: "The U.S., as a member of SEATO, will provide . . . two Marine regiments of the Third Marine Division [and] components of the First Marine Wing now stationed in Okinawa"; China and North Vietnam would be served notice to withdraw within a week their troops allegedly in Laos; if Marines land to fight, "they would use the tactical atomic weapons with which they are already equipped."

IT'S AN OLD STORY: A careful survey of press reports on Laos makes it clear that Washington's singular interest in that tiny kingdom is no recent phenomenon but has been maintained since the creation of Laos.

The 1954 Geneva conference declared Laos an independent and neutral country. The conference set up an international commission (India, Canada and Poland) to supervise (1) the establish-

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How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

PRINCETON, N.J., Aug. 15 (UPI) — The Powners said they and their children spent the fourteen days in the tiny shelter without any serious difficulties. With the aid of tranquilizer pills for the children, a bottle of whiskey for themselves, and a library that included a copy of the unexpurgated "Lady Chatterley's Lover."

"We went into it for the adventure," said Mrs. Powner. "It sounded so interesting, and enthusiasm consumed us completely."

They also received $500 for living in the shelter, a converted deprivation chamber used for university scientific experiments.

—N.Y. **Times**, Aug. 16

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: D. W., Kansas City, Mo.

THE MAIL BAG

Hopeful headline

SALEM, MASS.

How well I remember the GUARDIAN headline after the death of Dulles!—WILL DULLES' DEATH MEAN THE END OF AN ERA? THE WORLD HOPES SO. How intriguing that so soon after Dulles' death the U.S. should enter into a new phase of Soviet relations: does the hierarchy have no respect for the dead?

Shakespeare had a word for the GUARDIAN, you know: "I would applaud you to the very echo, that should applaud again."

Paul K. Alexander

The visit

SITKA, ALASKA

Vice President Nixon told the people of Russia when he was there recently how free the people of the U.S. are in comparison with the people of Russia.

If Vice President Nixon is right about the freedom of the people of the U.S., why doesn't the reception committee show Khrushchev the freedom of the Negroes and colored people of the U.S.?

Owen C. Rademacher

●

LAWTON, OKLA.

. . . He should see the fabulous wealth of our country, then the pitiful poverty of our cities and countryside.

W. J. Watkins

●

BRONX, N.Y.

Russians are atheists but have shown the spirit of Christ towards Nixon. America should extend the same courtesy to the symbol of Communism, Mr. K.

(Rev.) A. Theist

●

OAKLAND, CALIF.

Khrushchev should not miss seeing:

- The little hate propaganda building just across the street from the United Nations Building with flags flying at half mast for the "captive nations."
- The nearby slums of New York where in some cases five Puerto Rican families crowd into one "apartment."
- The Negro "ghettos" of Chicago, Indianapolis or Oakland.
- Agriculture in the Southwest where thousands of braceros imported from Mexico live in shacks and shanties on some of the richest corporation farms in the world.

Clarence M. Vickland

●

LITTLE COMPTON, R.I.

Khrushchev claims there are no political prisoners in the U.S.S.R. Whether you believe him or not, this shows that he thinks the absence of political prisoners reflects credit on a country and is something worth boasting about.

If that is so, why don't we of the U.S. get ourselves something to boast about by giving amnesty to all our political prisoners? It would show a lot more confidence in "democratic freedoms" if our government did not feel it had to jail people who disagree with it, such as Communists (not to mention the people it still seeks to put in jail for defying inquisitorial committees).

The GUARDIAN has a lot of live-wire readers. Even if half of us would write asking the President to grant amnesty—and write to our local newspapers urging others to do the same—perhaps the blot of the witchhunt could be removed from the land of Jefferson.

It certainly won't be removed as long as we remain inert.

Jessie Lloyd O'Connor

In prison: Communist leaders Green, Winston, Thompson; Taft-Hartley victims Bryson, Fisher; "espionage" victims Morton Sobell, Alfred Dean Slack; facing trial and imprisonment for CP membership, "conspiracy" under the Smith Act and T-H laws, and for defying legislative inquisitors, dozens of men and women, including Scales, Uphaus, Barenblatt, O'Connor, Braden and Wilkinson, to name the best known—Ed.

The noose

LYONS, NEBR.

Recently I heard a commentator report that the West had its neck in a noose on the Berlin issue and that the Russians were asking a price not to pull the noose tight. My advice to Uncle Sam is: don't go around the world sticking your neck into nooses!

(Mrs.) Christine Sydow

The natural girl

HOLY CITY, CALIF.

From the secular press we note that angry words are flying back and forth across the Atlantic from Rome to Atlantic City, with reference to the forthcoming "cattle market-like display" known to Miss Lenora Slaughter, its executive director, as the Miss America Pageant.

We feel directed to add our editorial voice to that of the editor of the **Osservatore Romano**; we too are against display of girls in bathing suits, as tending to contribute to the delinquency of both minors and majors.

To Miss Slaughter we suggest an alternative: let the girls be judged WITHOUT the "indecent" bathing suits. In point of fact, the most sensible attire to judge beauty of face and figure is not, as she says, "in a swim suit." It is rather in a birthday suit. Such eliminates not only the offensive covering as such, but also the "foundation garments" which all too many "swim suits" are in reality.

Miss Slaughter is further quoted in the San Francisco **Chronicle** as saying: "The swim suits must just show a natural healthy girl." This, to us, appears to be a contradiction in terms. Without the "swim suit" the "natural healthy girl" will be far more apparent.

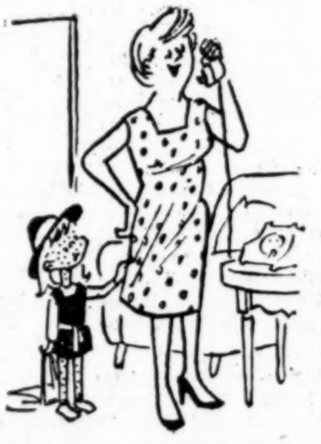
Robert Clogher, Editor
Holy City **Apocalypse**

Youth in arms

E. PEPPERELL, MASS.

The recent juvenile crime wave in New York City is a logical outcome of our system. As long as we honor aggressive and competitive tendencies, and the privileged position of power presented by individual wealth, we'll be plagued by juvenile troubles as well as adult troubles. Socialism in practice may be far short of the dreams and high hopes of old-fashioned leftists like myself, but it's the only hope we have for the future.

Al Amery



London Daily Mail

"Elsie went back to school today, so life will be easier for a week or so!"

The Legion

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The American people may well be thankful to the American Legion for so clearly illustrating their anti-democratic nature under the guise of Americanism.

Latest illustrations: their resolution opposing the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization on the ground that it furnished American schools with material contrary to "the American way of life"—in furtherance of which the Legion voted against voluntary racial integration in local units of the 40 & 8.

One wonders who exactly poses the greatest "clear and present" danger to the democratic values that we are striving for in our society.

Bruce H. Hoffman

●

NEW YORK, N.Y.

I note that newly elected Commander Martin McKneally's bid for the top post in the American Legion cost between $35,000 and $40,000 and the committee which raised the money for his campaign was headed by Morton Downey and Roy Cohn, "a close associate of Senator McCarthy."

Charles Pemberton

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

A NEW INTERNATIONAL CRISIS is brewing around West Germany. This stillborn state will ask for a permanent American dole, will upset the corrupt French politics and will head for cutthroat competition with Britain. A striking illustration of Konrad Adenauer's course was given by a recent French-German exchange of views on German rearmament. The editor of the press service of the Christian Democratic Union, Adenauer's party, declared that a police force was not enough for West Germany. He said the state will need to participate in the coming West European Army with a share in ratio to the size of the German population. This is no less than a return to the famous principle of Germany's equal right in rearmament with which Hitler started his military policy.

—Max Werner in the Guardian, Sept. 19, 1949

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REPORT TO READERS

The Moon and Mr. K

GOLLY, BUT THEY'RE GOOD!—This remark by Prof. Kirtley Mather of Harvard was the simplest unstinting VIP praise we could find this side of the water for the moonshot which Premier Khrushchev's countrymen launched as a send-off for his visit to the U.S.

In Bonn, Germany, scientist Heinz Kaminski of the rocket station at Bochum likened the feat to a marksman hitting a fly's eye from six miles away with a small caliber rifle. Another scientist pointed out that the marksmen were firing from a moving and rotating platform at a moving object. It took, he said, "infinite care."

The political aim of the Soviet marksmen was not lost on the editorial writers of the N.Y. **Times**, who wrote, after acknowledging the scientific momentousness of the feat:

"It is unfortunate that the timing of this enormous achievement must lead us to couple a political evaluation with the scientific praise for what has been accomplished. Obviously Premier Khrushchev hopes that this feat will aid him in the mission on which he arrives on our soil . . ."

The **Times** went on to say that hitting the moon did not give the Soviet Union the right to enslave other peoples, and hoped that Mr. K. would reveal while here a policy on earth "which will permit the energies and knowledge of all humanity to be joined together in peace for the fight against mankind's real enemies: hunger, disease and ignorance."

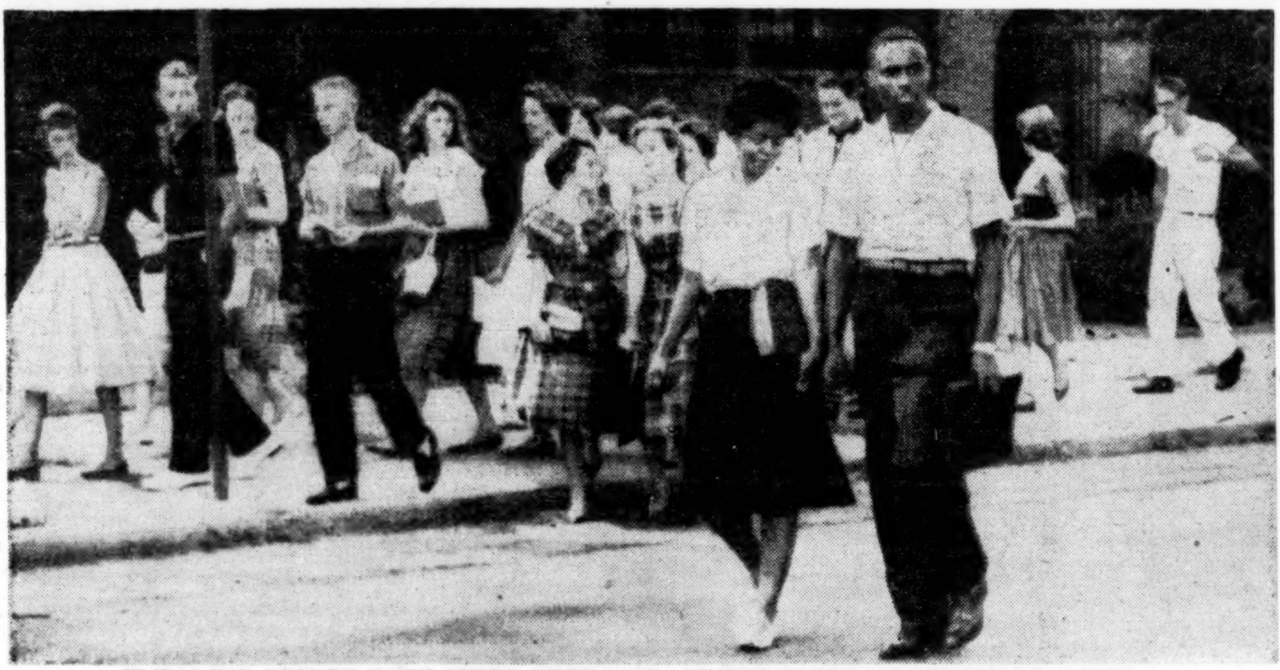
THE TENDENCY TO LIKEN the Soviet moonshot to a fireworks display turned on at the will of a leader, is quite a compliment if you examine it objectively. Anyone predicting 40 years ago that the newborn socialist nation, beset from all sides by forces intent on throttling the infant in its cradle (as W. Churchill has felicitously phrased it), would beat Free Enterprise to the moon would have been marked mad. Indeed the village schoolteacher of Borovsk, Konstantin Eduardovich Tsiolkovsky, who showed how it would be done as long ago as 1883, in all the 40 years of his pre-Revolutionary work in Russia got only one grant from the Russian Academy of Sciences—a matter of 470 rubles. He lived until 1935, and Soviet science took him more seriously.

But before that could happen, they had to build a Soviet science. The Soviet inheritance from czarism was a nation 76% illiterate. Giuseppe Boffa in his new book **Inside the Khrushchev Era** (see p. 8) says the transformation of the U.S.S.R. was "the result of a choice made by the Soviet proletariat as soon as it had consolidated its Soviet power. All the struggles of the decade 1920-30 hinged on this decisive choice. Isolated and alone, the only socialist state in the world, the Soviet Union was lacerated by a tremendous contradiction between its social regime, the most progressive the world had ever seen, and its technological and economic structure, which was so poor and backward. There was no reconciliation possible in this conflict; one of the two poles had to disappear. Either socialism went out; or the backwardness of the country . . . They chose to liquidate the backwardness."

THE BATTLE FOR EDUCATION began with "fanatic enthusiasm." In the decades 1920-40, some 50,000,000 adults went to school, as well as boys and girls. By the start of World War II, illiteracy had been wiped out. Dyson Carter's **The Big Brainwash** shows that the nation which in 1917 had only 105 colleges and high schools with only 127,000 students, by 1958 had 3,640 with over 2,000,000 students. In 1957 these schools graduated 770,000 specialists of whom 71,000 were engineers (three times the U.S. number for that year). Today, around the core of the Soviet Academy of Sciences is a research organization of more than 200,000 research workers. There is one library for every 1,400 inhabitants, as against one for every 24,000 in the U.S., one for every 82,000 in Britain. Even the factories have libraries, and the average life of a book is one year (in Italy, a library book lasts six years). In the 10-year education given every Soviet child, the curriculum calls for one foreign language, six years of biology, five of physics, four of chemistry. It is all free, and college students get "stipends," in other words, pay. In a comparison between a Soviet counterpart and Massachusetts Institute of Technology, both colleges provided an equal number of hours in most subjects, but in math and physics the Soviet institute provided 417 hours more.

WITH ALL THIS, it was obviously "child's play," as one cleric put it, for Soviet science to toss a firecracker at the moon when the boss went visiting. Or did they have to put a gun at their heads?

—THE GUARDIAN



IT WAS BAD ENOUGH WHEN THERE WERE NINE—SO HOW COULD SHE LET HIM GO ALONE?
Elizabeth Eckford walks with Jefferson Thomas after the first day at Central High in Little Rock

CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION TURNS IN GLOOMY REPORT

Federal voting registrars proposed for South

By Louis E. Burnham

RECENTLY A NEGRO veteran walked into the registrar's office in a Southern town and asked to be registered as a voter. The woman registrar told him she was "too busy" to handle his application but suggested that he leave his name and address so she could call him back at a more convenient time. A few hours later two deputy sheriffs turned up at the veteran's home and warned him that it was dangerous to go around "stirring up trouble" in that nice little Southern town.

This is but one of many examples cited by the Federal Civil Rights Commission to support its contention that in the South "many people have not yet accepted the principles, purposes or authority of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments" which were adopted to guarantee the Negro equality of citizenship and voting rights.

AN OLD STORY: The Commission's findings, included in its Sept. 8 report to the President, cover familiar grounds. For the better part of a century illegal trickery, evasion, economic pressure, intimidation and violence have minimized the Negro vote in the South. The Commission's investigators merely uncovered new twists to old practices, such as the case of the Louisiana segregationist who sought to deny a Negro the right to vote because, he wrote, the Negro had made an "error in spilling" on the application form.

What was new, however, was the frank admission by a government agency that without Federal intervention the Negro vote in the South is likely to remain static or to decline. This is what has happened during the two years since the Commission was established under the Civil Rights Act of 1957.

A considerable increase in Negro voting strength in Texas, in Memphis, Tenn., and a few other cities, has been more than counterbalanced by a rollback in Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana and South Carolina. In Washington Parish, La., where state law permits any voter to challenge another's registration, a concerted campaign by the White Citizens Council dropped Negro registration from 1,517 in November, 1958, to 236 in June, 1959.

NOT IN THIS LIFE: In Haywood County, Tenn., Negro witnesses told Commission probers that "no Negro has voted since Reconstruction" and "there is no Negro alive who recalls he has ever voted." Of the 26,000 residents of the county, 15,000 are Negroes. The report revealed that in 16 southern counties where Negroes are a majority of the population not a single Negro is a registered voter. In many other such counties Negro voting is limited to a token handful.

In Macon County, Ala., whenever the Negro vote has reached proportions which county officials regard as menacing, the board has employed the expedients of not having a "quorum" when Negroes appear, refusing to hold registration sessions, or resigning. The Eastern North Carolina tobacco belt practice is equally ingenious: many registrars open the books to new applicants only in their rural farmhouses after sundown, knowing that no Negro relishes approaching a remote white farmhouse in the dark.

In some counties applicants must produce "vouchers," persons who have already registered and will swear to the applicant's good character. Where there are no Negro voters and where white voters are solidly determined to keep politics a lily-white affair, the search for vouchers can be a frustrating and fruitless venture.

THE PROPOSAL: In the face of these impediments, the Commission noted, the Federal government appears helpless in its efforts to guarantee an unfettered franchise. Not one Negro has been enabled to register or vote as a result of the machinery set up by the 1957 Civil Rights Act, the report noted.

To overcome the apparent defect in Federal authority, the Commission proposed that Federal registrars be empowered to replace state officials who refuse to register qualified applicants.

The registrars would be Federal officials, such as postmasters, Federal attorneys and clerks of the District Courts. They would be appointed by the President on a temporary basis until the Chief Executive determines that local officials are prepared to conduct their office fairly. The appointment of the Federal registrars would depend on the filing of affidavits by nine or more persons that they have been denied registration because of race, and certification by the Civil Rights Commission that the complaints are well founded. The Federal registrars' function would be limited to primaries and elections involving Federal offices; state contests would be unaffected.

THE TAINT: Despite the limitations, the proposal, if enacted, would go a long way toward realizing the principal that the Federal government is responsible for maintaining the purity of all elections in which the President and Vice President, members of Congress and other Federal officials are chosen.

Because of the failure to exercise such measures in the past, every President who has served since the Hayes-Tilden compromise of 1877 has exercised his mandate under the taint of indefensible Southern electoral irregularities.

Two of the Commission's three Southern members joined three Northerners in recommending the employment of Federal registrars. They were Robert G. Storey, Dean of the Southern Methodist Law School of Dallas, and Doyle E. Carlton, former Governor of Florida. Another former governor, John S. Battle of Virginia, dissented with the comment that there are enough laws on the books already to guarantee Negroes' voting rights.

EVEN SPLIT: On another proposal for electoral reform the Northern Commissioners went it alone. The three—chairman John A. Hannah, president of Michigan State Univ.; the Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, president of Notre Dame Univ., and George M. Johnson, former dean of the Howard Univ. Law School—urged a constitutional amendment outlawing literary tests for voting in all states. Age and length of residence would be the only permissible standards to determine a citizen's fitness to vote under their proposal. All three Southern members of the Commission opposed this recommendation.

Other proposals, in which all Commissioners concurred, would: (1) require state officials to keep registration and voting records for five years; (2) authorize the U.S. Attorney General to initiate suits to enjoin registrars from discriminating against qualified applicants; (3) direct the U.S. Census Bureau to compile registration and voting lists; (4) empower the Commission to seek court orders directing response to its subpenas, rather than appealing to the Justice Dept. for this aid as is now required.

SCHOOLS AND HOUSING: The Commission report also covered its investigations of discrimination in education and housing. In these areas it found the nation just as sick with the jimcrow virus as in the field of voting, but failed, with one exception, to offer any specific remedy. The exception was a proposal to withhold Federal funds from institutions of higher learning which bar students because of race or color. Commissioner Johnson felt the prohibition should extend to public elementary and secondary schools as well. The Southern members opposed the proposal altogether.

Though the Commission's recommendations were widely described as mild and moderate, there was not a chance that they would be seriously considered by a Congress hastening toward adjournment. In fact, all civil rights bills, long bottled up in the Senate Judiciary and House Rules Committee, were doomed to stay there until Congress reconvenes next January.

In the House, Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.) filed a discharge petition to force a weak bill out of the unfriendly grip of Rules Committee chairman Howard Smith (D-Va.) and onto the floor. But the chances of securing the necessary 219 signatures were slim. No tactic had yet succeeded in forcing an even weaker measure out of Senator Eastland's Judiciary Committee, and Southern Senators have threatened an all-out filibuster whenever this happens.

SHADOW OF K: Hovering over the whole matter was the Khrushchev visit. A majority of Congressmen were determined to go home before the Soviet Premier arrived, thus avoiding a decision on whether to invite him to address the Congress. Even worse, they reasoned, would be to be "caught" by Khrushchev indulging the annual Congressional pastime: the North-South debate as to whether the Federal government should enforce the rights which the constituional amendments "guaranteed" to Negroes 90 years ago.

Congress concurred, therefore, on one civil rights measure before adjournment: extension of the life of the Civil Rights Commission beyond its November 9 expiration date. Despite vocal Southern opposition, Northern liberals were able to achieve this much. Now the Commission can continue its studies; Southern Negroes can keep on trying to vote without Federal protection; and the liberals can tell their constituents, "Wait till next year."

Coming?

VARIETY says: **"John Gielgud is a memorable Benedick and Margaret Leighton matches as Beatrice . . . A big and distinguished hit."**

How can you see it? Easy. The GUARDIAN is having a Benefit Night for this brilliant production of Shakespeare's **Much Ado About Nothing**, at the Lunt-Fontanne Theater in New York, Friday evening, Sept. 25.

Your tickets are as close as your phone. Call ORegon 3-3800, right now!

House keeps passport bill alive

THE HOUSE ON SEPT. 8 passed a passport control bill which would restore the State Department's authority to enforce a political ban on foreign travel.

Sponsored by Rep. Armistead Selden (D-Ala.) and approved by the Foreign Affairs Committee by a 25-1 vote, with Rep. William H. Meyer (D-Vt.) providing the lone dissent, the bill was adopted by the House, 371-18.

It would empower the Secretary of State to withhold or revoke passports from any citizen who has been, since Jan. 1, 1951, a member of or "affiliated with" the Communist Party or has knowingly engaged in activities supporting what the bill calls "the international Communist movement," and whose travel abroad the Secretary considers harmful to U.S. security.

The bill would grant departmental hearings and judicial review, but opponents of the measure complained that the wording requiring trials "on the record" was too vague to guarantee that the State Dept. would be forced to reveal the sources of information on which its findings were based. In Committee hearings a State Dept. security official had said that "we would rather have no bill at all than one that would require the unmasking of undercover people."

The Senate did not act on the measure. Whether or not it will push such a bill to passage when it reconvenes in January will depend largely on the kind of reaction the Senators receive from their constituents during the recess.

THE COMMUNIST BOGEY IN CUBA

Why dictators fear Castro's regime

By Kumar Goshal

THE CUBAN REVOLUTION has frightened dictators Trujillo of the Dominican Republic, Duvalier of Haiti and Somoza of Nicaragua. They attack Fidel Castro as a "Communist" (similar accusations have been made in Washington) with such ferocity that it would seem the Cuban revolution has some unique character which the dictators regard as a menace to their security.

Premier Castro's government can by no stretch of the imagination be called communist. It has made no attempt to expropriate foreign or Cuban-owned industries, nor has it thrust the state into the field of industry. Castro has invited more foreign capital for industrial projects and offers special concessions to those willing to gear their investment to the government's plans. The government's plans are modest; they stress light, consumer goods industries rather than heavy industries usually favored by countries formerly colonial and underdeveloped.

LAND REFORM: What seems to disturb Castro's critics most is the Cuban Agrarian Reform Law. Yet agrarian reform is no longer associated exclusively with communism. In the UN, Western capitalist countries, feudal Latin American nations and even colonial powers speak in favor of agrarian reform without first having to issue the usual disclaimer. The U.S., in fact, is proud of the land reform undertaken in Japan after Tokyo's surrender.

Opposition to Cuba's law cannot be based solely on the fact that it empowers the government to compensate owners of huge estates on the basis of the value they had declared in the past for taxes, and to pay with 20-year, 4-1/2% government bonds. Mexico long paid nothing for American-owned oil property it had expropriated; the owners eventually settled for 40c on the dollar of the declared value. What then makes the Cuban expropriation a more heinous crime in the eyes of Castro's critics than Mexico's take-over?

SPECIAL FEATURE: The Cuban Agrarian Reform Law is unique because it corrects a basic weakness of similar laws in other non-socialist countries: it does not give former land-owners an opportunity to recover their land through credit or mortgage to penniless peasants who receive land from the government. This has happened in Japan.

Guardian photo by Goshal

TWO ADMINISTRATORS OF CUBA'S NEW LAND REFORM LAW

Bearded Maj. Rene Vallejo is in charge of agrarian reform in Oriente Province; with him is the director of a new cooperative formed after the revolution.

The Cuban law prohibits peasants who receive the "essential minimum" of 67 acres from selling or mortgaging their farms, and offers them needed credit, seed and tractors through the Agrarian Reform Institute or through cooperatives. It makes it impossible for a feudal land tenure system to be restored. This example other Latin Americans are likely to follow.

Other aspects of the Cuban revolution also differ from the usual pattern of Latin American revolutions:

- This was no coup by ambitious young army officers, but a popular revolution involving farmers, workers, students, intellectuals, trade unionists and nationalist-minded middle class businessmen and industrialists.
- The revolutionary government not only uprooted the feudal land tenure system—which opens a country to foreign exploitation—but swept the country clean of the twin forces of exploitation and oppression, the professional army and the police force.
- The Castro government has abolished such anti-democratic institutions as the Anti-Communist Bureau, the Military Intelligence and the Bureau of Investigations; at the same time it has set up its own organs of vigilance which paid off well last month by nipping a counter-revolutionary conspiracy.
- The government has extended civil liberties and democratic rights to all, and has prohibited racial discrimination in employment.

LIMITED CP ROLE: Latin American dictators and their U.S. supporters worry because they see in all this the possibility of a small but dedicated band of revolutionaries gaining the support of the peasants and successfully carrying through a democratic and thorough-going revolution in the Caribbean region.

The Cuban revolution is not a communist revolution, but Communists have participated in it and have contributed to its success. The Communist Party says it would like to be represented in the government to have it "more faithfully reflect all the classes and social segments which have been and are taking part in the revolution."

While trying to modify "the composition of the government . . . by democratic methods, through discussions," the CP says it "will always avoid presenting any of these questions in a way in which they could be used by the enemies of the revolution."

BEHOLDEN TO NONE: In Cuba today the issue of communism seems to be totally irrelevant. Cubans rightly suspect that vested interests at home and abroad are using the communist bogey solely to turn the clock back on social progress in their country.

They contend that the presence of Communists in the ranks of the revolutionaries does not make their government communist any more than the presence of Catholics in far greater numbers makes the government a theocracy. In any case, they feel they are beholden to none but themselves for the success of the revolution, and they have the right to decide democratically their own form of government.

Pressures over Laos

(Continued from Page 1)

ment of a provisional coalition administration composed of the Royal government and representatives of the nationalist Pathet Lao, which had fought the French for the country's freedom; (2) general elections for a permanent government; (3) integration of two Pathet Lao battalions into the Royal army.

The general elections were never held. When the Pathet Lao received remarkable support in an interim election, Prince Phoui Sananikone, head of the Lao-Bing Bank and the Lao-Thai Commerce Co., usurped power and dissolved the provisional government. He arrested Pathet Lao leaders, the former Royal government leader and all who believed in a neutral Laos.

ALSOP REPORTS: The Sananikone government stalled on integrating the Pathet Lao battalions into the Royal army. According to the London Sunday **Times** (Aug. 16), "Gen. Ouane Rathikoune, ruthless Chief of Staff of the Royal Army, herded the battalions into two 'protective camps and held [them] in what were virtually concentration camps."

Joseph Alsop reported (N.Y. **Herald Tribune,** Sept. 6 & 9), from Vientiane that "during all this period, the whole weight of American influence was thrown against the plan for a mixed government." He said:

- "The present non-Communist government of Laos was formed with the strongest American backing. Almost all its actions to repress the Communists in Laos were taken with American approval, and often as a result of American suggestions."
- When Sananikone and the Regent Prince Savang warned of the risks involved in abandoning "neutralist policy," the U.S. asserted that SEATO "would guarantee Laos against aggression."
- When Sananikone took the "most controversial [and] most provocative step . . . to get rid of the international commission," he consulted U.S. Ambassador J. Graham Parsons and U.S. Pacific Commander Adm. Harry D. Felt. The Admiral "assured the Laotians that they could rely on the support of the U.S. and the protection of SEATO."

$300,000,000 IN "AID": Alsop did not trot out this information to indict U.S. policy in Laos. Rather, he accused Washington of not living up to its pledges to Sananikone and Co. He said: "The American government did everything possible to bring the Sananikone government into being [and] must always assume responsibility for the consequences. [Otherwise] the blow to the American and free world position in Asia will be completely irreparable."

In the past five years, Washington has poured into this nation of 3,000,000 over $300,000,000 in "aid"—more per capita than into any other country. This money went largely to a handful of corrupt politicians and army officers to get them to do Washington's bidding. This was disclosed by the Porter Hardy subcommittee's report to the House on U.S. Aid Operations in Laos.

Testimony implicated Ambassador Parsons in shady deals. Despite this, he was appointed last June to the post of Asst. Secy. of State for Far Eastern Affairs, and has been acting as adviser on Laotian affairs.

HATE THE GOVERNMENT: Under Parson's guidance the situation in Laos moved steadily toward a showdown. Huge economic "aid" had made the Royal army neither efficient nor dependable. The reason for the successes of the small Pathet Lao forces in the north was given by the **Wall Street Journal** (Sept. 8): "Some of these villages are so hostile to the government that army teams are not even permitted to enter."

Fearing a Pathet Lao victory because of their own corruption and unpopularity, both Sananikone and Gen. Rathikoune were determined "on complete annihilation of the rebels" (**Wall Street Journal,** Sept. 10). Unable to defeat Pathet Lao with the Royal army, they turned —through Washington—to the UN.

Sananikone wanted a UN force. Failing that, the plan was to turn to SEATO. He appealed to Hammarskjold, rather than directly to the Security Council President, which is proper, apparently to give the U.S. time to canvass the delegates.

LODGE'S TASK FORCE: By the time Hammarskjold brought the issue to the Security Council, the U.S. had sounded out UN members and determined that, if the Soviet Union vetoed a move to intervene in Laos and the issue were taken to the General Assembly, it would be impossible to obtain the two-thirds majority needed for approval.

Meanwhile, according to Pierre J. Huss of the N.Y. **Journal American** (Sept. 9), U.S. delegate Henry C. Lodge had "set up a master task force to study strategy" to prevent a Soviet veto (permitted to the five major Security Council powers on "substantive" issues).

A CHANGE OF A WORD: The study, Huss said, "was completed the week Laos sent its cry for help." Lodge consulted Secy. of State Herter even as his experts were "conferring with all Security Council delegates except [Soviet delegate] Sobolev." Lodge decided to ask the Security Council to approve neither a UN force nor an investigating commission for Laos, both of which could be vetoed.

Instead he proposed a UN commission of "inquiry." No one was fooled by the term and the press referred to the commission as one of investigation. The Council, with a straight face, decreed that the question was one of procedure, and therefore not subject to a veto. Over strenuous objection by Sobolev, and in the midst of embarrassed speeches by other Council members, the Lodge strategy prevailed and a "commission of inquiry" (Argentina, Italy, Japan, Tunisia) was set up. On Sept. 12 the group left for Laos.

On Sept. 9, Pathet Lao declared it was ready to resolve the Laotian conflict by peaceful means "if such a settlement is truly desired by the Royal Lao government." Sananikone rejected the offer and Washington had no comment

Secy. Herter congratulated Lodge for a "brilliant diplomatic victory" in which Huss said the delegates "enjoyed" turning the tables on the U.S.S.R. The fact that they might be turning Southeast Asia into a new Korea was not mentioned.

On Sept. 14, the Soviet Union proposed that members of the 1954 Geneva conference meet again to solve the Laos issue.

LABOR PARTY GOES RESPECTABLE

Britain's biggest issue—ban the bomb—won't be voted on

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

THE SUNNIEST SUMMER in years, and the peace prospects opened up by Ike's historic invitation to Mr. K., have brought Britons back to homes and jobs in a hopeful mood. Ike received a heartfelt welcome from a people increasingly aware of how little they control their own destinies, seeing him as a symbol of one of the two real seats of power to mold the future.

The politically sophisticated are now living with—and grateful for—the idea that "talks about talking" may be the best prospect in view for some time to come. Many ordinary folk, noting Mr. K.'s conciliatory attitude in recent statements, wonder how long we must wait for any spirit of compromise to dawn on the U.S. side—and if there is to be none, just what the Ike-Mr. K. talks can achieve. Eve-of-talks scare headlines in the press about the "Laos crisis" and Chinese "aggression" on the Indian frontier are having some success in confusing the public mind as to whether the signs of relaxing tensions may not be "all my eye."

Yet the Chinese-Indian "crisis" seems to be a dud, despite all the efforts which the Allen Dulles outfit have clearly put into it; and the British government is not concealing its skepticism about the U.S. clamor that there is "Communist aggression" in Laos. (Britain still claims it is a civil war, following the Laos government's breach of the international control commission agreement.)

ELECTION TIME: All these events come within about a month of general elections here. As long as the possibility remains of a Labor victory, Prime Minister Macmillan has an ace in his hand to restrain Washington from rash action in Laos. Macmillan, whose spring visit to Moscow is widely seen as having spurred Ike's approach to Mr. K., hopes to ride back to power as an architect of peace.

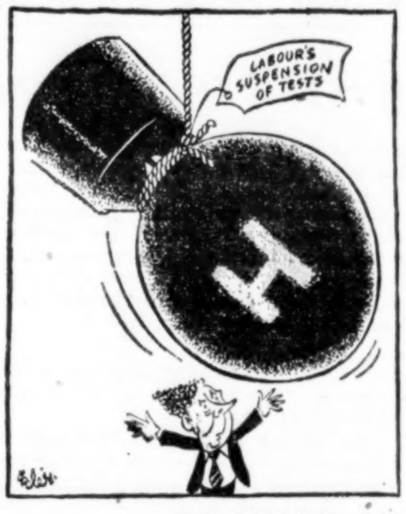
Certainly what the people want—as Canon Collins put it in a St. Paul's Cathedral sermon—is "closer and closer friendship" with Russia despite differences. The vast majority agree with the Canon—a recent Moscow visitor—in regarding as "meaningless bosh" the thesis "even of some bishops" that "it would be better to blow the world to pieces than allow the triumph of communism."

As for the election race, Macmillan has done all the running and his party's chances are at their peak, dismal as its over-all record is. Based on the past record, there is little faith in Tory intentions regarding cold-war abatement once they are re-elected; but Labor has failed as miserably on the peace as on the domestic-economic front to stand on a strong alternative policy understandable to the man in the street.

RESPECTABILITY: After a recent pre-election junket by leader Gaitskell to an industrial area, his party drew from the "liberal" (increasingly reactionary) Manchester **Guardian** the dubious compliment that it is "making itself respectable with the Establishment, even endearing itself."

Months after Macmillan, Gaitskell with his now politically tamed Bevan turned up in Moscow, where they defended the "British empire" on TV and outlined to Mr. K. Gaitskell's "non-nuclear club plan" to prevent nuclear arms spreading to new countries. Mr. K. said what the Labor Left here has long been saying, that the "overriding need" as a start toward nuclear disarmament is for the three present nuclear powers to agree on limiting and halting tests.

In terms of public relations, the belated Gaitskell-Bevan trip is as much of a fizzle here as the "non-nuclear club plan" itself, which would perpetuate U.S. nuclear bases in Britain even if the "club" were formed and Britain joined it. The British politicians found areas of agreement with Mr. K. on their party's stated foreign and general disarmament policies; but these areas were already obvious, and what is lacking to put fire into the Labor forces is confirmation that its stated policies would be fought for.



Eccles, London Daily Worker
"Honestly, it's all right—it's tied to a branch of Nato!"

OUT OF LINE: What we do have, on the contrary, is a "line" on nuclear disarmament which (as Left Laborite Zilliacus points out in a new pamphlet) is "inconsistent with and contradictory to" party foreign policy. Labor foreign policy as voted by its delegate conference sees the U.S.S.R. as a social, not a military, challenge, and looks not to military blocs but to a UN in which China would be represented to keep the peace.

Nuclear disarmament is still the outstanding issue with which the British people are expressing their concern. The call for Britain to give a lead, regardless of what other countries do, continues to grow. Yet it will not be an issue before the voters at the election, except insofar as some perfectionists boycott the polls in protest.

The Trades Union Congress, by forcing a reversal of position by the pro-nuclear disarmament General & Municipal Workers, has ensured endorsement at its annual conference of the "non-nuclear club" will-o'-the-wisp. Of 140 disarmament resolutions submitted for the Labor Party conference, 120 demand unilateral renunciation of nuclear weapons.

But as Macmillan has called the election for Oct. 8, which is during the scheduled Labor conference week, the discussion of these demands will not take place. If there is a party conference at all, it will be no more than a "close ranks behind our leader" demonstration.

ONE OUTLET: As J. B. Priestley writes in **New Statesman & Nation**, nuclear disarmament—"the supreme issue of our time"—is not "the only one that could be brought to life" by a genuine Labor party; but the "widespread contempt, indignation and disgust" for the half-baked British welfare state "is forbidden any political expression."

While Tory and Labor dispute at the hustings as to which party can best run capitalism, and talk best about talking peace, the outlet for this conglomerate of radical feelings will continue to be the non-partisan Nuclear Disarmament campaign. In the week of Sept. 13-20 the campaign will become nationwide with marches, rallies, pickets and signature-collections in over 60 places from Lands End to John O'Groats. The people will vote with their feet, but the vote will not count—yet.

SAVE THE DATE
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11th
ANNIVERSARY DINNER
WED. EVE., NOVEMBER 18
IN NEW YORK CITY

THE PROBLEM OF ALGERIA REMAINS BUT—

Ike's Paris visit raises French hopes for peace

By Anne Bauer
Guardian staff correspondent

PARIS

PRESIDENT EISENHOWEP'S Paris visit had a significance above government-publicized reactions. The people who turned out in the streets to welcome him—the "little people of the subway" as Culture Minister Andre Malraux calls them patronizingly—applauded Ike as the man working on the Big Thaw.

On his last visit to Paris, for a critical NATO meeting in December, 1957, the President of the United States found no crowds waiting for him in the streets. He had come then to talk about more and better military coordination and more and better A-bombs for Europe. The Eisenhower of this trip was a man who was going to see Khrushchev and talk about peace.

The remarkable thing was that for the first time since the beginning of the Cold War, the hope of East-West understanding was embodied in an American who was also a general.

The secrecy surrounding the Eisenhower-De Gaulle talks encouraged speculation. Beyond the subjects discussed—NATO coordination, A-bomb disposal on French soil, Algeria and, of course, the Ike-K meeting—De Gaulle's remark midway in the Eisenhower visit that "everything has worked out very well between us" was commented on admiringly but fuzzily. Right and Center papers stressed "the magnitude of the diplomatic come-back" which De Gaulle's "exceptional personal standing had brought about in the space of a few days" (**Le Monde**).

'SELF-DETERMINATION': The one definite political news story broke a few hours before Ike's departure, when it was announced that De Gaulle's forthcoming statement on Algeria would be followed by a declaration of support from the White House. The key word in Paris' supposedly new attitude toward the Algerian problem is "self-determination." Much has been written about it already, and a rumor campaign bigger and better than those previously induced by De Gaulle's oracular statements is already under way.

The term self-determination was first used by De Gaulle in late August, during his last Algerian tour. The meaning of the word is exactly contrary to the older watchword constantly in the fore about Algeria since the May 13th putsch: "integration." Pro- and anti-"integrationists" lost no time in noting the fact.

Following De Gaulle's return from Algeria, his intentions were interpreted by Paris observers as going all the way to an early, internationally-controlled referendum on Algeria's future status in all "pacified" Algerian zones. Directly after the Eisenhower visit to Paris, the New York **Times**, in an article promptly disclaimed by Paris, said De Gaulle meant self-determination to include independence, if the Algerians so desired.

SHARP REACTION: In Algeria, too, the ultras and part of the Army have taken self-determination at its true meaning and have reacted sharply. Reports from Algiers note a tension resembling in some places the pre-May 13, 1958, insurrectional climate. Certain Army circles are said to be determined this time to assume leadership of the opposition movement—ready for action in mid-September, the expected time of the De Gaulle statement—and reduce the civilian ultras and activists to followers.

Such Army circles are made up of officers who have come to believe unreservedly in the utopian notion of integration. To them, pacification as a premise to self-determination (according to the new De Gaulle formula), killing and being killed in order to say, once the fighting is over, "And now, if you don't want us, we'll go away," is perfectly absurd. Their logic cannot be denied.

To that part of the Army supporting De Gaulle's new "initiative," self-determination is nothing but a diplomatic face-saving maneuver designed to swing the UN's next Algerian vote in favor of France.

AYE
VE LIKE IKE

IKE WAS LIKED IN PARIS
They cheered the hope of peace

NO GREAT CHANGE: To the Algerian Provisional Government, to judge by its first reactions, De Gaulle's forthcoming move means nothing more than that and seems already doomed to failure. The Algerian population as a whole, a French Press Agency dispatch notes, retains its habitual silence and "will express itself freely only after . . . pacification will have been carried to its end."

It is possible that in De Gaulle's mind, the simple point about self-determination is to grant it only if and when it is certain the Algerians will not vote for independence.

DR. LINUS PAULING ON THE DANGERS OF RADIOACTIVITY TO THE WORLD

The choice before mankind: Atomic death or wo

In the Grand Lecture Hall of the Department of Politics and Economics of Hiroshima University on Aug. 5, 1959, Dr. Linus Pauling, Nobel Prize winner of the California Institute of Technology, delivered an address entitled: "Our Choice: Atomic Death or World Law." To the best of our knowledge this speech has not been reprinted in the United States, nor has any report of the speech been made. In the belief that it presents the clearest and most comprehensive estimate of the dangers to the world in the spread of radioactive materials, the GUARDIAN herewith presents major excerpts of the address and urges all readers to pass it on so that it may be read by as many persons as possible.

WE LIVE in a wonderful world. I like this world. I like human beings. I like animals. I like plants. I like the stars, the mountains, the ocean, minerals, crystals—everything that there is in the world. And I am afraid that this wonderful world will be destroyed. I am afraid that next year, or year after next, or the year after that we shall all be dead—killed in a war in which the thousands of great nuclear bombs that now exist will be used. I hope—we all hope—that this will not come about; but in spite of our hopes there exists the possibility that the world will be destroyed, and we must not forget it.

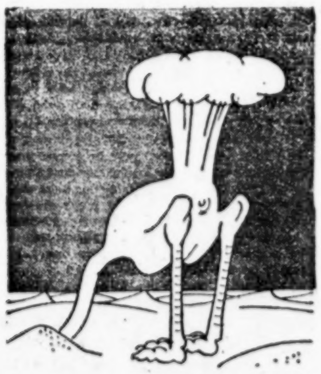
This decade is the most important in the history of the world. We now stand at the fork in the road: one path leads to world destruction, the end of civilization; the other path leads to world peace, world government, the use of world resources for the benefit of man. The first path is that of insensate militarism; the second is the path of reason.

The choices available to man and the necessity for making a choice have been pointed out over and over again since 1945 . . .

In many appeals mention is made of the spreading of radioactive materials over the world as a result of the nuclear bomb tests, and of the damage done to the health of human beings all over the world and to the pool of human germ plasm. How great is this damage?

IT IS NOW POSSIBLE to answer this question with greater reliability than it was even one year ago. Much information has become available during the past year. For example, we now have an official statement as to how extensive the bomb tests are that have been carried out, to the end of 1958.

The first such bomb to be exploded, estimated to have 17 megatons of explosive energy, was the Bravo bomb exploded by the United States at Bikini on March 1, 1954. Since then similar bombs have been exploded by the U.S.S.R. and Great Britain. In May, 1959, a representative of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission gave testimony before a Congressional committee about the total amount of bomb tests that have been carried out. In his testimony he said that the United States and Great Britain together had tested bombs with a total of 66 megatons of fission, and the U.S.S.R. had tested bombs with a total of 26 megatons of fission, up to the end of 1958. The total of all bombs tested is accordingly 92 megatons of fission. To this we must add an equal amount of fusion, the reaction of nuclei of lithium and deuterium atoms to form helium, so that the total energy of the bombs tested so far is about 180 megatons, about 60 times the explosive energy of all of the explosives used in the whole of the Second World War.



Tvorba, Prague

French will test atom bomb in Sahara

Let us now ask how much damage is being done and will be done to the human race by the radioactive fallout from the bombs that have been tested so far.

FIRST, I SHALL DISCUSSS the genetic damage. Prof. H. J. Muller discovered 30 years ago that X-rays cause mutations to take place in the hereditary material in plants and animals, the genes. The genes are molecules of deoxyribosenucleic acid. These molecules have the power of duplicating themselves. Each person in the world inherits about 100,000 molecules of deoxyribosenucleic acid from his father and mother, half from the father and half from the mother. Most of these genes that he inherits are the same as those the father and the mother had inherited, but he inherits only half of his father's genes and half of his mother's genes. There is, however, the chance that he inherits one or two or three genes that have been damaged since the time when the father and mother inherited them. These damaged genes are called mutant genes—the process of damaging them is called mutation.

Prof. Muller discovered that X-rays can damage genes, and since his discovery it has been found that all kinds of high-energy radiation can cause mutations. Geneticists all over the world agree that the high-energy radiation from the radioactive materials liberated into the atmosphere by the detonation of a nuclear bomb are causing mutations to take place in human beings all over the world.

The fission product from nuclear bomb tests that causes the most genetic damage is cesium-137. This radioactive element, liberated in the bomb tests, falls to earth, and, as the nuclei decompose, high-energy gamma rays are shot out, which strike molecules of deoxyribosenucleic acid as they pass through the reproductive organs of human beings, and convert the good genes into bad genes. All geneticists in the world agree that this effect is taking place.

I HAVE MADE USE of the average estimates of the leading geneticists of the world in estimating how many children will be caused to be born with gross physical or mental defect as a result of the mutations caused by the bomb tests that have been carried out so far. This estimate, based on the fission products alone, is that 140,000 children in the world have been or will be caused to be born with gross physical or mental defect—to spend their lives in a mental institution, because of mental deficiency, or to have a disease such as chondrodystrophy, which causes them to become dwarfs.

Recently a study has been carried out that provides more precise information about mutations in human beings than had been available before. The above estimates are based on the assumption that about 10% of all mutations in human beings are caused by the background radiation to which all human beings are subjected. This background radiation, due to cosmic rays and to natural radioactivity—radium and other radioactive substances in rocks, drinking water, and air about us—gives the reproductive organs an exposure of about three roentgens in 30 years; this is the average for human beings all over the earth. The exposure is somewhat smaller for human beings who live in regions where the rocks are sedimentary in origin, and somewhat larger, approximately twice as large, in regions where granitic rocks or other igneous rocks are at the surface of the earth.

In the April, 1959, issue of the **American Journal of Public Health** there is a report by Dr. John T. Gentry and his two associates (Miss Parkhurst and Mr. Bulin), of the State Department of Health of New York. Dr. Gentry and his associates have found that there is a large increase in the number of defective children born in communities in New York State that are in the region of igneous rocks, as compared with those in the region of sedimentary rocks. The increase that he finds occurs for several kinds of congenital defects. Its magnitude, an increase from 1.3% of children born with tangible defects to 1.7%, is about twice what would be estimated on the basis of the assumption that 10% of all defects are due to background radiation.

There is no doubt that the increase in the number of defective children born in these regions is the result of the increased amount of high-energy radiation from the radioactive substances in the rocks. Accordingly we are forced to accept the conclusion that high-energy radiation causes defective children to be born, and it seems likely that the estimates of the number of defective children caused by the bomb tests should be increased, perhaps by a factor of 2.

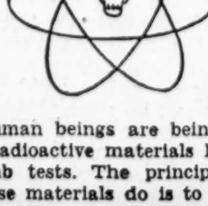
THE NATIONAL LEADER who gives the order to test a great nuclear bomb—and I hope that never again will such an order be given—should know that he is thereby dooming 15,000 children to be born in the world with gross physical or mental defect, and to live a life of suffering and misery.

I can understand why Bertrand Russell said that "the pollution of the atmosphere with radioactive materials is the most wicked thing that we have ever done."

It is, in fact, still more wicked than indicated by the number 15,000 defective children. I have analyzed the effects of carbon-14 produced by the bomb tests. Carbon-14 is a radioactive form of carbon that is normally produced in the upper atmosphere by neutrons in cosmic rays. Since 1954 the amount of carbon-14 in the atmosphere has been increasing steadily at the rate of 2% per year, and it is now 10% greater than it was five years ago. This carbon-14 is built into the bodies of human beings, along with ordinary carbon. The carbon-14 atoms are radioactive, and they continue to irradiate the tissues of the human body.

Carbon-14 has a long life—its average life is 8,000 years, so that human beings will continue to be damaged century after century by the carbon-14 from the bomb tests carried out so far. I have calculated that if the human race survives and the world is not destroyed, the total number of children that will be born with gross physical and mental defects as the result of the carbon-14 from the bomb tests carried out so far is 1,250,000. It is at the sacrifice of the health and happiness of these defective children that these bomb tests have been made. The carbon-14, over the centuries, will cause more human suffering by far than the fission products.

IN ADDITION to the damage done to the pool of human germ plasm, such as to cause the birth of defective children, human beings are being damaged by the radioactive materials liberated in the bomb tests. The principal damage that these materials do is to cause cancer. It is likely that hundreds of thousands of people now living, perhaps as many as a million, will be caused to die of cancer as a result of damage done by the radioactive fallout.



Cesium-137, iodine-131, carbon-14, and especially strontium-90 are the radioactive substances from the bomb tests that cause cancer in human beings. It is probable that about 10% of all cases of cancer are caused by the background radiation to which human beings are subjected, from cosmic rays and natural radioactivity. The fallout radioactivity is now about 5% of the background radiation, and it continues to increase. The strontium-90 from the bomb tests continues to come to earth, from the stratosphere. It gets into the food that we eat, especially the milk, and it is then built into the bones of human beings.

Every human being in the world now has strontium-90 in his bones, whereas 15 years ago nobody in the world had this radioactive substance in his bones. The strontium-90 irradiates the bone marrow and bone tissue in such a way as to cause leukemia and bone cancer. The iodine-131 irradiates the thyroid, and causes cancer of the thyroid. The cesium-137 and carbon-14 irradiate all of the tissues in the body, and cause all kinds of cancer.

The estimate that I have made, on the basis of quantitative information from the incidence of leukemia in Hiroshima and Nagasaki survivors and from other medical statistics, is that the bomb tests carried out so far will cause 140,000 people now living to die of leukemia and bone cancer, and about a million people altogether to die of cancer of all kinds.

UNTIL RECENTLY there was some uncertainty in the minds of scientists as to whether or not the effect of radiation in causing cancer is similar to the effect of radiation in causing genetic mutations, and whether small amounts of radiation, as well as large ones, can cause cancer. All geneticists had reached the conclusion that high-energy radiation causes mutations in human beings, such as to lead to the birth of defective children. It is thought that cancer is caused by damaged molecules of nucleic acid in the cells of the body, in the same way that genetic mutations are caused by damage to the molecules of nucleic acid in the germ cells. However, not all scientists believed that small amounts of high-energy radiation would cause cancer, although it is known that large amounts cause cancer in human beings.

This question has now been answered. Last year a very important study of

world law

childhood cancer was made by Drs. Stewart, Webb and Hewitt, in England. These investigators made a survey of all the deaths by childhood cancer, up to the end of the tenth year of life, in the British Isles, during one year, and a comparison study of children who had not died of cancer. Their studies were carried out with great care. It was found that the one correlation between the history of the children and the incidence of cancer that could be made with high statistical significance is the exposure of the child before birth to X-radiation, while the mother was having an X-ray examination made of the pelvic region. The amount of exposure of the fetus was only two roentgens, on the average. This small amount of radiation, comparable to fallout radioactivity and background radiation, is enough to double the chance that the child will die of cancer before he has passed the tenth year of his life.

There is accordingly now no doubt that these small amounts of radiation are effective in causing cancer. Their effect, as given by this study, corresponds to about 10% of all cases of cancer being caused by background radiation, and strongly supports the estimates about the damage due to fallout radioactivity that are given above.

We are thus forced to the conclusion that the radioactive materials liberated by the bomb tests are damaging human beings now living in such a way as to cause hundreds of thousands of them to die of cancer.

We may be thankful that no nation in the world has tested any nuclear bombs since November 4, 1958. If the bomb tests were to start up again, additional damage would be done to human beings and to the pool of human germ plasm.

IT HAS BEEN proposed that an agreement be made to permit tests to be carried out underground or at altitudes greater than 30 miles. However, the worldwide fallout from a bomb test carried out above 30 miles would cause great damage. I have calculated that the worldwide fallout for a bomb exploded in the atmosphere somewhat more than 30 miles above the surface of the earth would cause twice as much damage as a bomb test carried out, as in the past, at the surface of the earth.

The reason for this is that when a bomb test is carried out at the surface of the earth, as in the middle of the Pacific Ocean, most of the radioactive fission products fall into the ocean, and have little chance to damage human beings, and only about 25% is put into the atmosphere, to form the worldwide fallout. In the case of a bomb test in the upper atmosphere at least half of the fission products would be directed toward the surface of the earth, and would be spread over the surface of the earth in such a way as to damage human beings. Hence these bomb tests in the upper atmosphere are not safe—they produce more cancer and more defective children than those carried out at the earth's surface.

Now let us consider the damage to the human race that might be done in case there were to be a nuclear war.

A large nuclear bomb, a superbomb of the largest size that has been exploded so far, is a bomb with 20 megatons of total energy, both fission and fusion, of which about ten megatons is fission. Such a bomb has seven times the explosive energy of all of the explosives used in the whole of the Second World War. A raid by 1,000 planes on a city, with each plane dropping four one-ton blockbusters, was considered a great attack during the Second World War. If such a raid were carried out each night, night after night for 14 years, the amount of explosive energy released would be the same as that from the explosion of a single 20-megaton bomb over the city.

One great superbomb, with 20 megatons of explosive energy, could destroy any city on earth—New York, Moscow, London, Paris, Berlin. The blast, fire, and immediate radiation effects would kill nearly everybody within a region 18 miles in diameter.

MOREOVER, it would not be necessary for the bomb to hit the city in order to kill the people. A great amount of radioactive fission products results from the explosion of such a bomb. Most of these radioactive fission products, about 75%, fall to earth within an hour or two, if the bomb is exploded close to the surface of the earth—within a half-mile above the earth. This radioactive material that falls to earth is called the local fallout.

If the radioactive fission products from a 20-megaton superbomb were spread uniformly over an area of 12,000 square miles the radioactivity produced within an hour would be more than enough to cause the people in the region to die of acute radiation sickness within a few days. In one day the average exposure to radioactivity of the people in this region of 12,000 square miles—a region about 93 miles square—would be ten times the amount necessary to cause the people to die of acute radiation sickness. Accordingly a bomb that exploded 60 miles or even 120 miles away from a great city could kill almost everybody in the city, if the wind were blowing in that direction.

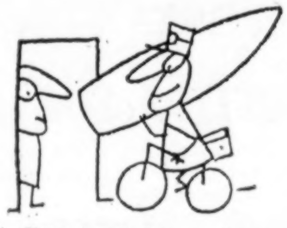
I have calculated that 300 great bombs exploded in positions rather uniformly distributed over the United States could kill everybody in the United States. The same number of bombs would kill almost everybody in Russia. The same number of bombs would kill almost everybody in the British Isles, Germany, France, Italy, and all of the other countries of Europe. Four thousand of these bombs, exploded uniformly over the land surface of the earth, would liberate radioactive fission products that could kill almost every human being on earth.

And there are thousands of these great bombs in the stockpiles of the United States, the U.S.S.R., and Great Britain at the present time!

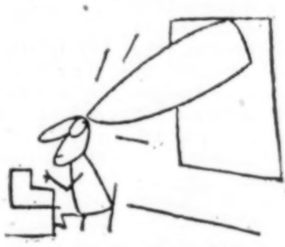
Two years ago a member of the Congress of the United States, Rep. Van Zandt, said that the U.S. had fissionable material enough for 35,000 bombs and the U.S.S.R. had enough for 10,000 bombs. Six months ago Mr. Lester Pearson, former Prime Minister of Canada and now leader of the opposition in Canada, and winner of the Nobel Peace Prize for 1957, wrote me that he had information he considered to be completely reliable that the U.S. is manufacturing additional atomic bombs at the rate of 20,000 per year. Two months ago I made the statement, in an address in New York, that the U.S. has 75,000 atomic bombs in its stockpile, and that Russia has nearly as many. The magazine **Newsweek** attempted to get a statement from government authorities in the U.S. contradicting my estimate, and did not succeed—the government authorities would not say that my estimate was wrong.

AT THE PRESENT TIME we might say that the U.S. is ahead in the armaments race. The U.S. may have ten times as many bombs in its stockpile as is needed to destroy the world, and perhaps the U.S.S.R. has only five times the number needed to destroy the world—hence the U.S. is ahead!

Secretary of Defense McElroy stated in March, 1959, that even if the U.S. were to be subjected to a great surprise attack by the U.S.S.R. it would still be possible to destroy the U.S.S.R. completely.



"—Your bomb has an incorrect address."



Grove, Canard Enchaine, Paris

"—I beg leave to return your kind greetings . . ."

On Sept. 23, 1958, I spoke at a great meeting in London, arranged by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. In my talk I said that if a nuclear war were to break out it is likely that a few bombs, perhaps one-half of one percent of the stockpile, would be used by Russia in an attack on the H-bomb bases in the British Isles, and that 50 bombs would be far more than needed to kill everybody in the British Isles. Two days later there appeared advertisements in the London **Times** and other British papers, put out for Her Majesty's Government by the Office of Public Information. In these advertisements the statement was made: "To say that everybody in the British Isles would be killed in an H-bomb war is simply not true. For millions of people the chances of survival would be very good."

There are 50,000,000 people in the British Isles. Her Majesty's Government did not say that 25,000,000 people would survive, or that 10,000,000 people would survive, or that millions of people would survive. Her Majesty's Government said only that for millions of people the chances of survival would be very good—and I am afraid that this optimistic statement is not justified. I am afraid that everybody in the British Isles would be killed, if there were to be a great nuclear war.

I am afraid that everybody in Germany, and everybody in France, and everybody in many other countries of the world, perhaps everybody in the whole world, would be killed if the weapons now existing in the stockpiles of the nuclear powers were to be used in a great nuclear war.

Why do we not stop our idiot's race toward death? . . .

WE MAY BE encouraged by the progress that has been made during the last year. One year ago the nuclear powers were continuing to pollute the atmosphere with radioactive materials by carrying out their bomb tests. Then, beginning July 1, 1958, there took place the First Geneva Conference on Bomb Tests. This was a conference of scientists, representing the governments of the principal nations of the world. In this conference, which within six weeks came to an end with complete success, there was formulated a system of 180 inspection stations, over the surface of the earth, designed to detect, with high probability, the testing of any significant weapon.

Then the nuclear powers brought their tests of nuclear weapons to an end, by independent action, rather than international agreement. Since Nov. 4, 1958, no nuclear bombs have been exploded in the world.

On Oct. 31, 1958, the Second Geneva Conference on Bomb Tests began. There the representatives of the United States, the U.S.S.R., and Great Britain have been working to formulate an effective international agreement for stopping all bomb tests, with a system of inspection stations, as recommended by the scientists in the First Geneva Conference. Ambassador James J. Wadsworth, Ambassador Tsarapkin, and the British Ambassador Wright, with their associates, have had success in formulating most of the clauses of the proposed international agreement. There are still some details that remain to be ironed out, but I believe that we can hope that the agreement will be made, and that in the course of time it will be signed by all of the great nations.

Good to the very last drop—and your property is safe

THE HOUSE Committee on Science and Astronautics last week reported on another use for atomic wastes: inserted in modified grenades, leftovers from nuclear reactors could be lobbed across enemy lines. The small releasing blast would do almost no damage to roads and real estate. But the radioactivity would, within a reasonably short time, bring death to every person within a wide area.

—**Time**, Aug. 24, 1959

Because of the development of these weapons that can destroy the world, could wipe out the human race, the nations of the world are forced to solve their problems in some way other than by war and the threat of war.

IN THE MODERN WORLD problems are solved by the application of man's power of reason, by research—scientific problems, problems of industry, and even problems about methods of destroying the world. I propose that we also solve the great problem of peace through research. I propose that a World Peace Research Organization be set up, as a part of the United Nations. If 5,000 or 10,000 of the best scientists and other scholars of the world were to work together continually on world peace, their support would cost only about 0.1% of the world's present military expenditures; this would truly be a cheap life-insurance policy for the whole of humankind.

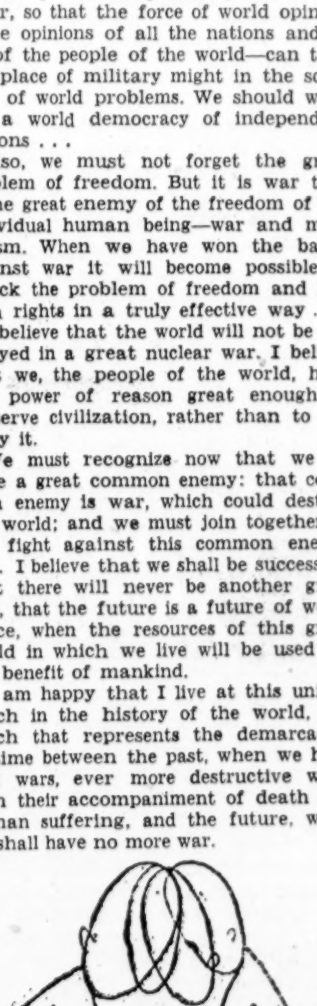
The world should not be divided into two armed camps, opposed to one another. Instead, the nations of the world should operate independently of one another, so that the force of world opinion—the opinions of all the nations and of all of the people of the world—can take the place of military might in the solution of world problems. We should work for a world democracy of independent nations . . .

Also, we must not forget the great problem of freedom. But it is war that is the great enemy of the freedom of the individual human being—war and militarism. When we have won the battle against war it will become possible to attack the problem of freedom and human rights in a truly effective way . . .

I believe that the world will not be destroyed in a great nuclear war. I believe that we, the people of the world, have the power of reason great enough to preserve civilization, rather than to destroy it.

We must recognize now that we all have a great common enemy: that common enemy is war, which could destroy the world; and we must join together in the fight against this common enemy, war. I believe that we shall be successful, that there will never be another great war, that the future is a future of world peace, when the resources of this great world in which we live will be used for the benefit of mankind.

I am happy that I live at this unique epoch in the history of the world, the epoch that represents the demarcation in time between the past, when we have had wars, ever more destructive wars, with their accompaniment of death and human suffering, and the future, when we shall have no more war.



La Tribune des Nations, Paris

UI-SC CALLS ELECTORAL POLICY CONFERENCE

Talks open on tactics for 1960

NEW YORK'S United Independent-Socialist Committee, outgrowth of the Independent-Socialist electoral campaign in the state in 1958, has invited the Communist Party, Socialist Labor Party, Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation and the Socialist Workers Party to participate in an open Consultative Conference on 1960 Electoral Policy Sept. 26-27 in New York City.

It could be a lively conference. In addition to the widely divergent views associated with the invited groups, similarly wide disagreements among the leaders of the UI-SC itself on 1960 perspectives are disclosed in the group's current **Newsletter.**

The extent of the disagreement in the UI-SC is apparent in the opposed views of John T. McManus, I-SP candidate for governor in 1956, and Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein, candidate for lieutenant-governor.

DR. RUBINSTEIN'S VIEW: Dr. Rubinstein argued for a united-independent-socialist presidential campaign in 1960 "even if New York were the only state to place such a ticket on the ballot." She felt, however, that at least eight or nine states would follow New York's lead if such an electoral effort were undertaken.

Such a campaign would draw support from youth, labor and peace forces, she said, and would probably make available at least $500,000 worth of free radio and TV time in New York State alone. This "would insure a minimum mention of the basic issues of peace, employment, civil rights and civil liberties in the campaign."

McMANUS' VIEW: McManus held that a presidential campaign of the 45-state proportions of 1948 was "not a realizable prospect" for 1960, since nearly four years of organization for independent political action had preceded the '48 effort and that organization is now non-existent. He urged, nevertheless, that "independents and radicals" in as many states as possible collaborate for ballot positions for 1960; that a survey of nationally-known independents be undertaken "to determine the caliber of candidates who might be available and under what circumstances they might run." But he noted some circumstances under which independent-radical forces might be better advised to forego independent action in favor of collaboration with labor and liberal forces "on certain immediate objectives." Such circumstances McManus outlined thus:

"For example, if Nixon is a nominee, I would propose foregoing an independent presidential campaign for the purpose of joining with the broad forces of all description throughout the country, including the labor movement, who will insist on Nixon's political annihilation.

"Yet if Nixon's opponent should be Kennedy or Lyndon Johnson, against whom there may be equally compelling reasons for opposition, an electoral alternative should be available wherever possible for the millions who would refuse to vote for either major party nominee.

"In a Kennedy-Rockefeller contest, I would advocate independent-radical collaboration to place an alternative ticket on the ballot wherever possible.

GUERRILLA TACTICS: "However, if Adlai Stevenson should be a nominee, even against an opponent other than Nixon, I would be reluctant to help mount an independent campaign. To intervene in a contest between Stevenson and Rockefeller, for example, might run directly counter to labor-liberal determination to elect Stevenson for a complex of positive reasons, with all of which we might agree.

"I believe Stevenson has matured so as to be a potentially constructive candidate for 1960. Indeed I believe he could not get the nomination other than as a candidate advocating world understanding, an end to nuclear war preparations; and racial, political and economic security at home.

"Such flexibility as I propose for 1960 implies the introduction of guerrilla tactics into American politics, since I conceive such tactics to be the only means by which to move eventually with the mass of Americans in a historically correct direction."

SWP POSITION: Two members of the UI-SC who are also members of the national committee of the Socialist Workers Party, Murray Weiss and Tom Kerry, said they were "emphatically" against all forms of coalition politics "involving collaboration with or support of candidates of the two capitalist parties." They favored an independent-socialist campaign. Weiss, in a three-column article in the SWP's weekly **Militant** for Sept. 7, attacked McManus' position as "eclectic."

Other proposals by UI-SC leaders were:

MORRIS GOLDIN, initiator with Henry Abrams of discussions leading up to the 1958 I-SP campaign: "A national united independent socialist congressional committee—in commonly agreed areas, with a commonly agreed program." Goldin said a 1960 socialist presidential campaign would fail to win coalition support, but that "socialists whose pet project is intervention in the Democratic Party as the only means through which political expression can be made, will not win the allegiance of many socialists . . ."

MURIEL McAVOY, widow of the late Clifford T. McAvoy, American Labor Party leader and municipal candidate, concluded "reluctantly, that we will be too few and too poor" to conduct a 1960 presidential campaign.

THE CONFERENCE: The UI-SC Consultative Conference will be held beginning Saturday morning, Sept. 26, at the Fraternal Clubhouse, 110 W. 48th St., New York. Participating groups will present views at the morning session, with the remaining sessions devoted to general discussion and several guest speakers. A social evening is planned for that night. Registration is $1. Copies of the UI-SC pre-Conference newsletter containing the exchange of views on 1960 may be obtained from the US-SC headquarters, 799 Broadway, New York 3.

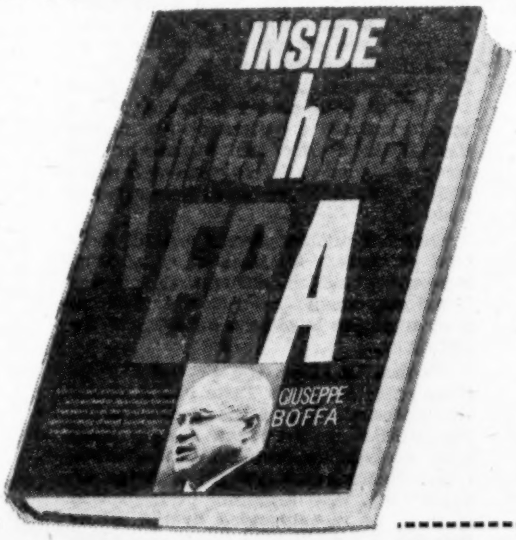
Midwest Foreign Born

ON SEPT 1, the Midwest Committee for Protection of Foreign Born moved its offices from 431 So. Dearborn St. to 189 W. Madison St., Room 406, Chicago 2, Ill. Phone: DEar 2-3835.

BOOKS

Welcome, Mr. Khrushchev

With millions of Americans, we welcome you to our country and hope your visit will be fruitful. As publishers we make our welcome effective by publishing during your visit the most distinguished book of the decade on the USSR. We believe that mutual knowledge will surely create mutual trust and candid, perceptive books like this one will further friendship. We are proud of its publication; understanding between two countries will bring lasting peace and thus crown the headiest dreams of mankind.



INSIDE THE KHRUSHCHEV ERA by Giuseppe Boffa, foreign editor of L'Unita of Rome, Italy, gives the first account in depth of Mr. Khrushchev's rise to leadership, his setbacks, his struggles, his successes, all inextricably related to the great changes now sweeping across Soviet society. These changes, as Harrison Salisbury has been pointing out in the N.Y. **Times**, are creating a stronger, healthier Soviet Union.

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Name ....

Address ....

NEW YORK

A CALL TO
Independents and Socialists
To a
CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE
On
1960 ELECTORAL POLICY

FRATERNAL CLUBHOUSE 110 W. 48th St., N.Y.C.
Saturday, Sept. 26—10 A.M. to 6 P.M..
Sunday, Sept. 27—11 A.M.. to 4 P.M.

IN JUNE, 1958, a United Independent-Socialist Conference assembled in New York City to consider electoral intervention in the New York statewide elections, in the conviction that the contending old political parties did not offer the voters the alternatives of peace and fruitful social change.

An electoral effort for U.S. Senator, Governor and other statewide offices resulted which, though it failed to win collaboration from all existing groupings, did receive significant rank and file support from various of these groupings, to the extent that the Independent-Socialist Senatorial candidate, Corliss Lamont, received more than 49,000 votes.

Now, in the Fall of 1959, the authors of the Independent-Socialist statewide political effort of 1958 renew the search for collaboration of independents and socialists on a common course for the vastly more important election year of 1960.

- **CAN INDEPENDENTS and socialists of New York, in consultation and in free and full interchange of views, approach a common course?**
- **Is it possible for independents and socialists to mount a presidential campaign in 1960?**
- **Can we intervene in Congressional contests in any areas in our state?**
- **Are there any other forms of electoral activity available to independents and socialists in 1960?**
- **How can independents and socialists best join efforts to thwart the renewed bi-partisan attacks on labor, and on civil rights and liberties?**
- **Can independents and socialists of all groupings combine efforts to further the new possibilities for peace implicit in the fast-changing world situation?**

TO DISCUSS THESE AND RELATED questions, the United Independent-Socialist Committee has called an open Consultative Conference. We have invited the Communist Party, the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation and the Socialist Workers Party to present their points of view on these issues at the opening session, Saturday morning, Sept. 26.

WE INVITE ALL AFFILIATED AND NON-AFFILIATED SOCIALISTS AND INDEPENDENTS TO PARTICIPATE IN THE DISCUSSIONS.

Use Coupon to Register!

Sign below. Enclose $1.00 for registration. Please add a contribution too, to help make the conference a success.

☐ I enclose $1.00 registration fee.

☐ Send me by return mail a free copy of UI-SC NEWSLETTER which started off the debate.

☐ I enclose..............to help defray conference costs.

NAME ....

ADDRESS ....

UNITED INDEPENDENT-SOCIALIST COMM.
799 Broadway, New York 3, N.Y.

Labor and Mr. K

(Continued from Page 1)

acter of communism," but with Carey, he did not want to "isolate" labor from groups seeking peace.

Knight said he opposed the resolution because he wanted the council to appoint a committee to tell Khrushchev "to his face he's a murderer."

Although the resolution said "we do not . . . have any comment to make on the wisdom of the President's invitation," the debate made clear the labor leaders opposed Khrushchev's visit. Textile Union president Emil Rieve called the visit a major diplomatic defeat. L. S. Buckmaster, president of the United Rubber Workers, said there was no purpose in talks with the Russians because they always break their promises.

PROUD ISOLATION: In answer to Reuther's plea against "isolation," David Dubinsky, president of the Intl. Ladies Garment Workers Union, said he was "proud to be isolated from Khrushchev in everything he does and says."

Joseph A. Beirne, president of the Communications Workers of America, said his union would place ads in newspapers in every city Khrushchev visits denouncing "Soviet aggression" in Korea, East Germany, Hungary, Tibet and Laos.

Meany made his own position clear a few days later at the convention of the Veterans of Foreign Wars where he was awarded the organization's first annual Americanism medal. Following Nixon on the platform, he scoffed at the Vice President's suggestion that the exchange visits would help bring peace. The cold war, he said, was brought on by the Soviet leaders' fear and hatred of the United States "as the obstacle in their drive for conquering the world."

As a sop to Reuther and Carey, the council allowed individual union leaders to meet with Khrushchev. Carey was already scheduled to be host at such a meeting on Sept.. 21 in San Francisco.

CONSISTENCY: Carey arranged a similar meeting last January with Soviet First Deputy Prime Minister Mikoyan. Reuther and Beirne came and later they all bragged they had given Mikoyan a harder time than the bankers had.

If it seemed an aberration of logical political alignment for the labor movement to stand to the right of the American Legion on the Khrushchev visit, there was at least some historic consistency in labor's' foreign policy. Almost from the inception of the Soviet Union there were some in the AFL who saw communism as the "main danger." But with a general isolationist attitude in the country and a depression, the rank and file kept the labor leaders on pork chop issues.

In the CIO a feeling of brotherhood toward all workingmen and for a state dedicated to workers was more prevalent. In the '30's Reuther and his brother, Victor, spent two years working in a Soviet factory. At that time Reuther signed a now-famous letter, "yours for a Soviet America."

1946 STAND: With the coming of World War II Soviet critics in the labor movement were silent in deference to the war effort. But as soon as the guns had died down the AFL was quick to sound its opposition to post-war Big Three Unity. In its 1946 convention the federation proclaimed: "The U.S.S.R. and its subordinate 'friendly' nations are not interested in making peace but in utilization of the peace forum as well as the occupation of conquered territory to extend the control of the Communist Party and expand a despotism as cruel as any recorded in history."

At the same convention Irving Brown, the AFL's representative in Europe, said: "I say that the irreconcilable conflict in Europe today is the conflict between democracy and totalitarianism and it is our job . . . to lend every possible aid to . . . the free trade union movement."

MARSHALL PLAN: With the AFL ahead of the government in pressing the cold war, it took a little longer to bring along the CIO. At its 1947 convention, Archbishop (now Cardinal) Cushing urged the unionists to support the Marshall Plan and warned against "potential traitors to America and to our organizations in the labor movement." Later Secy. of State Marshall came to plead for his plan. When a foreign policy resolution came to a vote, the CIO fell in step and the cold war had the official blessing of both labor federations.

GEORGE MEANY
He's not falling for peace

To maintain its support for the cold war, the CIO later had to get rid of 11 progressive unions, but to the top leadership their loss seemed to be compensated by State Dept. appointments of labor representatives to various American embassies and foreign missions.

As the cold war progressed, labor leaders appeared as its best salesmen at home. Whenever a possible thaw developed, AFL brass were among the first to advocate a deep freeze. At its 1952 convention the AFL urged American military intervention in Indo-China and Malaya.

TOUGHEST OF ALL: In 1955 after the Geneva summit meeting, Meany denounced President Eisenhower for substituting "massive appeasement" for "massive retaliation." Meany also attacked Prime Minister Nehru, Marshal Tito, Aneurin Bevan and U.S. industrialist Ernest T. Weir as "dupes" of the Soviet "peace line."

That same year the AFL executive council made a special plea to the West German Trade Union Fedn. to end its opposition to German rearmament.

The passion for cold war was somewhat less ardent in the CIO. Occasionally leaders of the clothing, packinghouse and woodworkers' unions spoke out against the China Lobby and for banning atomic weapons. Even Reuther opposed Meany's attack on Nehru. Inside the AFL, leaders of the butchers and typographers often seemed uneasy over the federation's foreign policy.

But after the AFL and CIO merged in 1955, Meany's foreign policy more and more became the official labor stand. Labor voices that leaned to some form of peaceful co-existence became increasingly still. At last month's council meeting they were completely silent.

JAY LOVESTONE: Meany's advisor on foreign affairs and chief speech writer is Jay Lovestone, a founder and former general secretary of the Communist Party. After his expulsion from the party in 1929, Lovestone formed the Independent Labor League. Two of its members were Irving Brown and Harry Goldberg, both now on the international relations staff of the AFL-CIO.

In 1944 Lovestone became the head of the Intl. Relations Dept. of Dubinsky's ILGWU and executive secretary of the AFL Free Trade Union Committee. One of his functions was to spend "well over $250,000 a year fighting communism at the trade union level in Europe, Asia and Africa."

In addition, Lovestone had a sideline. Edwin A. Lahey wrote in the Chicago Daily News, Aug. 20, 1955:

"Lovestone's office in New York is a 'drop joint for a well known system of intelligence agents who keep Lovestone up to date on affairs behind the Iron Curtain . . . It can be stated without qualification that the CIA [Central Intelligence Agency], headed by Allen Dulles . . . has in recent years obtained much of its primary information about international communism from Lovestone . . . Lovestone is a magnet for trade union leaders behind the Iron Curtain who have secretly informed on their communist bosses. Lovestone's trade with these people is necessarily secret, but it is a rich source of intelligence for our own CIA."

RANK AND FILE: In the Sept. 5 issue of the Nation unionist Sidney Lens reported: "Rep. Clardy of Michigan alludes to a 113-page secret document of the U.S. Air Force dealing with Lovestone's relations with government officials, in which it is stated that labor attaché posts and other government jobs were frequently 'cleared' with him."

When the labor federations merged some CIO leaders objected to Lovestone's enormous power; some wanted him fired. But with Meany firmly behind him, Lovestone remains the chief architect of the House of Labor's foreign policy.

The best that can be said of labor's attitude toward the Khrushchev visit is that from most reports it seems the rank and file does not hold with its leaders.

POST-WAR PATTERN ABANDONED

Steel strike becomes part of drive to 'weaken or destroy' trade unions

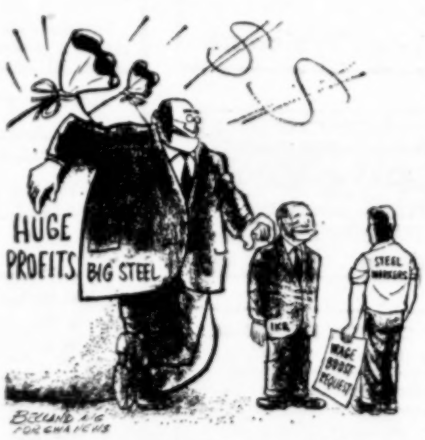
WHEN HALF A MILLION steel workers went on strike on July 15, there was no indication that the shutdown would differ from the pattern set since World War II: The mills would stay shut until stockpiles were depleted, a wage increase would be granted and the industry would raise its prices. But by last week the strike had become the longest in the industry's history, management had not moved from its original position and government intervention seemed certain.

In Washington President Eisenhower, who till now had maintained a hands-off position, agreed to meet with the executive committee of the Governors' Conference to discuss the effects of the strike in some states. Secy. of Labor Mitchell had earlier announced that if the strike lasted until October, the President would invoke the Taft-Hartley Act and send the strikers back to the mills for an 80-day "cooling off" period.

DEADLINE PROPOSED: In the Senate, Republicans Jacob K. Javits of New York and George D. Aiken of Vermont opposed use of the T-H Act but asked Eisenhower to set a one-week deadline for a strike settlement with a fact-finding committee to propose terms if it went beyond that period.

AFL-CIO leaders belatedly concluded that the steel companies' unbending attitude was part of a concerted drive to "weaken, if not destroy" unions. Labor saw the new "labor reform" law as one prong in the attack, and the hardened bargaining as another.

The AFL-CIO executive council voted all-out support for the steel union and asked all unions to give "all practical aid and support." As a "first down payment" the Federation's Industrial Union Dept. sent $1,000,000 to the strikers.



CWA NEWS, Washington, D.C.
"Go ahead, Ike, tell him it's inflationary!"

HOW IT WAS: In the past, steel negotiations have been different. The industry is a nine-months-a-year business: the companies can produce all the steel they can sell in that period. For the rest of the year the steel workers are usually laid off or put on a short week. Since the war steel management and the AFL-CIO United Steel Workers boasted of a cooperative "team spirit." The union under the late Philip Murray and now under David J. McDonald, and management negotiators, led until this year by Benjamin Fairless of U.S. Steel, seemed to be in rapport. In 1949, 1952 and 1956, when contracts expired, negotiators met apparently without agreement. In each of those years, the union struck, having produced enough steel during the negotiation period to allow good-sized stockpiles. Each time the strike lasted about as long as a lay-off would have lasted. Each time the final settlement called for substantial wage increases and other benefits for the strikers. And each time the companies raised prices $3 for every $1 in added costs.

SOMETHING NEW: But this year negotiations followed a new pattern. Fairless, now retired, was replaced by Roger M. Blough and a younger team that was supposed to "modernize" the industry. McDonald put forward the usual demands for the union. But management said a wage increase would be "inflationary" and countered with a seven-point program for changing work rules.

During negotiations the mills operated at 94% of capacity, turning out enough steel to build up big stockpiles for use during a strike. McDonald extended negotiations two weeks beyond the contract expiration, thus enabling steel users further to increase their inventories.

When the steel workers struck this year, it seemed like the same old story. But although the union has pared its demands, management has held firm.

EITHER WAY: If Eisenhower invokes the T-H law in October, it will please the steel users. General Electric, General Motors, Ford and Chrysler, the steel companies' biggest customers, have enough steel to continue full production until then.

On the other hand, the steel companies may prefer to avoid government intervention because the T-H law also calls for a Presidential fact-finding committee and the facts on steel profits would favor the strikers. Also, the companies could possibly grant less in direct negotiations then might be recommended by a committee subject to political pressure.

McDonald may also prefer non-intervention. A challenge to his leadership which almost put him out of office two years ago has placed him under pressure to deliver a handsome package. But inflation-conscious fact-finders might propose a skimpy wage increase. For the steel workers there is a danger that McDonald under pressure might trade a wage increase for greater management prerogative to introduce speed-up and mechanization. In the last decade 100,000 mill hands have been replaced by labor-saving machines.

Whatever the outcome, it will have a deep effect on all labor. Negotiations in the aluminum industry have been postponed until after the steel settlement. Copper and lead mine owners and leaders of the independent Mine-Mill union have not met since the miners struck on Aug. 10 because both sides are awaiting the outcome in steel.

The moon rocket

(Continued from Page 1)

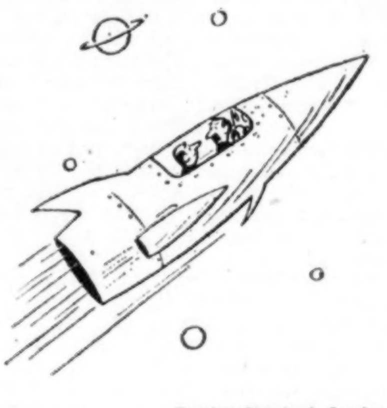
than ever. For what the Soviet Union has done today, the U.S. is bound to achieve tomorrow. And, with huge stockpiles of nuclear weapons and the ability to deliver them accurately to their targets, day after tomorrow each wlil be able to obliterate the other in a matter of hours.

On at least two issues Moscow and Washington have slowly come closer; disarmament and nuclear test suspension. On disarmament, the way to fruitful negotiation was paved two weeks ago when it was agreed to set up a ten-member group—U.S., Britain, France, Canada, Italy, U.S.S.R., Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Bulgaria. This met the Soviet demand for parity in a small negotiating group. On test suspension, the major obstacles were (1) the number of on-site inspections and (2) the lack of recognition of the Peking government by the U.S. and the UN.

THE MOURNERS' BENCH: In these circumstances, it was disquieting to note the efforts of some groups to disrupt the Eisenhower-Khrushchev talks and poison the political atmosphere during the Khrushchev tour.

Two organizations were asking a period of "mourning for the captive nations." They were joined last week by a "Committee for Freedom of All Peoples" which included 40 members of Congress. Organizers were Sens. Bridges (R-N.H.), Dodd (D-Conn.), Douglas (D-Ill.) and Reps. McCormack (D-Mass.) and Judd (R-Minn.).

These groups—as well as powerful forces in Washington—oppose any negotiated agreement with the Soviet Union on the ground that such agreement would make Moscow strong enough to turn the U.S. into a "captive nation" by conquest. This is a suicidal view.



Evening Standard, London

"Why didn't you think of that before we started?"

A nuclear test suspension agreement would in no way diminish the strength of the three nuclear powers, for they would still have their stockpiles. The next step — banning of nuclear weapons — would be taken only after controls have been proved workable and mutual trust has been established. Still later would come the final step—the destruction of stockpiles. Meanwhile, the suspension agreement would prevent an increase in radioactive fallout and in the number of nuclear powers. This, in turn, could lead to gradual disarmament on a wider scale.

WHO WOULD GAIN: A decrease in arms production and the opening of unrestricted East-West trade would perhaps benefit the U.S. even more than the U.S.S.R. American prosperity has long been geared to a war economy. In reply to the argument that "Russia would gain more than the West by a release of resources from a mounting arms production," the London **Times** noted (Sept. 11) that "the Russian standard of living is rising even now—arms and all." And the Soviet seven-year plan was devised without counting on U.S. economic cooperation.

The talk of "captive nations" in Eastern Europe confuses many people. Moscow is vigilant about its frontiers in Eastern Europe because too many attacks have been launched against it there. It has repeatedly declared its willingness to withdraw all troops from the region if the West agreed to incorporate the area into a neeutral Central European zone and the U. S. withdrew its forces from Europe.

There are no Soviet troops in China and the Soviet-Chinese border is as unguarded as the U.S.-Canadian border.

THE PEOPLE, YES: The American people in general apparently remain favorable to the Eisenhower-Khrushchev talks "to melt the ice a little." N.Y. **Times** correspondent Peter Kihss reported (Sept. 11) that Congressional mail against Khrushchev's visit was "relatively light." He said that New York Republican Sens. Keating and Javits "have had about a hundred letters each," and Sen. Kennedy (D-Mass.), a Catholic, "has had about the same, although Richard Cardinal Cushing, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Boston, has been one of the most vocal critics of the visit."

In this nuclear age, there is no alternative to negotiation and a willingness to live and let live. Eisenhower said: "Americans seek to substitute the rule of law for the rule of force, the conference table for the battlefield." Khrushchev said: "Since we share one planet . . . it is better to live on it without elbowing one another."

If this required emphasis, the Soviet rocket to the moon supplied it.

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N.Y. Meeting Sept. 20 to discuss Ike-K talks

AN AD HOC Committee on the Eisenhower-Khrushchev Talks—to Explore the Requirements of Peace—scheduled a meeting Sunday evening, Sept. 20, at Community Church, 40 E. 35th Street, New York City, around the topic: "Is the Cold War Ending?"

Listed speakers include Norman Thomas, Rep. Edith Green (D-Ore.), A. J. Muste, secretary emeritus of the Fellowship of Reconciliation; and New York City Councilman Stanley Isaacs, chairman.

Except for Rep. Green, the speakers are all members of the Ad Hoc Committee which also includes TV star Steve Allen, Rev. Harry Emerson Fosdick, author Waldo Frank, Rev. Martin Luther King, Rabbi Edward E. Klein, Stephen S. Wise Free Synagogue; Quaker leader Clarence Pickett; labor leader A. Philip Randolph, sociologists David Reisman and Pitirim A. Sorokin, Hallock Hoffman, Fund for the Republic; and Norman Cousins, editor of **The Saturday Review.**

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THEREFORE, ALL PERSONS HAVING AN INTEREST THEREIN are notified and requested, to communicate with the undersigned counsel for such Bail Fund, by mail, setting forth the nature and amount of the interest, and the date and place of the creation of the interest. The final date for claims is September 25, 1959, as has been set forth in previous public notices.

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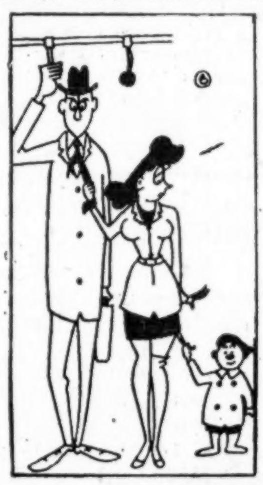
THE GALLERY

AMERICANS GENERALLY WERE pleased, annoyed or curious over the Khrushchev visit, but owners of industrial stocks apparently were jittery. According to columnist Sylvia Porter, the dips in missile and aircraft stocks "were triggered by fear that the talks might lead to lessening of world tensions." . . . Columnist Holmes Alexander of the Los Angeles **Times** also was shaken. He wrote: "With the Communist boss in Washington, New York, touring grandly from Atlantic to Pacific, lionized by our high and mighty, we know how the royal families in France and Russia must have felt as they looked out their windows at the mob. Make no mistake! The torch of revolution is at our door." . . . But the Missionary Baptist Temple in Houston was cool. Its pastor, E. A. Munroe, a self-proclaimed segregationist, cabled Khrushchev in Moscow to tell him he would not be invited to attend services in the church . . . Ex-Senator Knowland of California was bizarre. He suggested that the invitation to Khrushchev be cancelled and the Dalai Lama of Tibet invited in his place . . . **U. S. News & World Report** was macabre. In its Sept. 14 issue it reported: "The story is heard in Washington that Khrushchev is bringing his family with him when he visits the U.S. to make sure that no rivals at home can grab power and hold the Khrushchev family as hostages. It's suggested that the Soviet No. 1 man doesn't always feel too secure."



Vie Nuove, Rome

FASHION DESIGNER GILBERT ADRIAN, who died last week in Hollywood, predicted in 1953 that women's dress fashions would not change radically until man contacted the moon. Space suits, anyone? . . . One of every nine British Labor MP's is a corporation director . . . Rev. Maurice McCrackin last month was prevented from entering a Cincinnati jail to "give spiritual hope and consolation" to a prisoner. Sheriff Dan Tehan told the minister: "No one who ever has been incarcerated in this jail is permitted to go back to visit anybody." McCrackin was jailed for refusing to pay Federal income taxes which would be used to make war . . . Sen. Kenneth B. Keating (R-N.Y.) asked the Rules Committee for "an investigation and action" to ban spittoons in the halls of Congress . . . The Natl. Bar Assn., composed mostly of Negro lawyers, said it plans to explore the possibility of legal action against unions that persist in retaining constitutional clauses barring Negro membership. At the association's 34th annual convention in Milwaukee last month a resolution was passed praising the Teamsters Union for starting an organizational drive in the South on a non-racial basis. In New Orleans recently at an organizing meeting Teamsters' president James R. Hoffa was asked how the union stood on integration. He answered: "I recognize only one type of person in the United States and that is the American citizen. And I recognize that all blood is red. And I recognize that when we had a war, regardless of race, color or creed, we banded together . . . There can be no division of color, race or creed when it comes to meeting at a bargaining table with your employer . . . And therefore, I say to you . . . I believe all men are born with equal rights, and whether I get a vote here tonight or not, I will not stand here and tell you that an individual does not have the same rights because of color." The union recently hired a Negro lawyer on its national staff.

SEAN O'CASEY ASKS: "Where are the playwrights? I don't hear any song from our modern playwrights. Where is the music in the human heart?"

Of Tennessee Williams he says: "I miss the life in him. I don't think he has ever heard anyone laugh. I wonder whether he has ever seen a honeymoon couple."

Of England's John Osborne he says: "I admire that young man's courage. But I don't fancy his philosophy. There is no hope in him."

Brendan Behan, he believes, "has talent." But, O'Casey adds, "I don't think he'll really do anything. Not unless he changes his habits. If a man wishes to do good work he must be dedicated. The drinking can be suicidal. Look at poor Dylan Thomas."

O'Casey, who was interviewed by a N.Y. **Times** writer, also does not have much hope for the modern surrealists. He says, "The other night I was listening to that Ionesco's 'The Rhinoceros.' Now isn't it silly. What man wants to turn into a rhinoceros? The others—like Genet—I honestly cannot make them out. They seem to think that life isn't worth living. And yet I notice that they cling as tightly as anyone else to all it brings.

"What suffering mankind needs is hope. And there is reason to hope. It looks to me like matters are not going to get worse. Everywhere men are trying to save themselves from destruction. Look at your President. How I hope for his health . . . He's trying to do the right thing."

—Robert E. Light

CP marks 40th year in New York Sept. 25

EUGENE DENNIS, national secretary of the Communist Party, will discuss "The Significance of the Eisenhower-Khrushchev Meetings" in a policy speech at the 40th anniversary celebration of the CP Sept. 25 at Carnegie Hall in New York. The chairman will be veteran labor and party leader Elizabeth Gurley Flynn.

Former City Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, now New York party chairman, will also speak. The program includes a cantata, "Jericho," a modern dance performance, "Horizons of the Future," and a 15-minute movie of film clips. Admission is $1.

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Molybdenum (from sodium molybdate)	0.01 mgm.
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NEWSPAPER

the SPECTATOR

Great Day for Meudon

PAUL ROBESON had surely seen such a sight before as he stepped forward to the microphone in Meudon, France: some 50,000 people crowding a huge meadow in front of a semi-circular red-curtained raised platform improvised for the occasion; 50,000 people standing, sitting on the grass, impatient to hear him sing, impatient to applaud.

Robeson had seen the sight before, but Meudon had not. Meudon is a Paris suburb neither better nor worse than many others. It has a working class neighborhood and one for the well-to-do; because of the proximity of the Seine and the woods, a few great artists worked and lived there around the turn of the century.

The annual **Humanite** festival, driven out of Paris' municipal Boise de Vincennes two years ago, had found refuge this time at Meudon.

How many extra spectators had been drawn by the announcement of Robeson in France for the first time since the 1949 Peace Congress, Robeson singing and autographing his records at Meudon that Saturday, is difficult to say. By mid-afternoon, at any rate, it was hard to find another square foot anywhere within hearing distance of the platform, whereas the three miles of festival stands selling books, wine, sausages and lottery tickets fell below their customary attendance for a while.

PAUL ROBESON AND FRIENDS IN BUDAPEST

The singer-actor, living for the present in London, paused in Hungary last month on his way to visit Rumania. Later he plans to return to Hungary for a concert tour, and has indicated that he's going to China too. He made this trip between appearances in the Stratford-on-Avon production of "Othello" which will continue through October.

OF THIS CROWD come from Paris and the four corners of France, many knew no music, many more no English, and many others—like the three 14-year-olds beside me—were too young to know much more about Robeson than his name.

The moment he began to sing, they all understood. They strained with the "Water Boy," they were seized by the rhythm of the "Cuatros Generales," they swayed with "Ol' Man River," they hummed along timidly with "John Brown's Body," and they joined Robeson in the Soviet "Song of the Partisans."

Paul Robeson, a huge dark figure up on the platform, his hand cupped behind his right ear from time to time as though to get an extra dimension of the music, did not just sing. He threatened and cajoled and laughed with his songs, he acted out their lyrics, and between them, he carried on a sort of conversation with the crowd before him that was not really a monologue.

He talked to them about music and wine and peace, about China and France and America, about Shakespeare and Racine, about history and the future. He said a few words in French, switched over to English, sang Beethoven's "Ode to Joy" in German, sang a little Chinese song, explained the humor of a delightful Yiddish song on his program, and just before the end recited a poem in beautifully sonorous Russian.

BUT ROBESON'S audience also saw something else that day, something rare these past years. They saw Peace and Friendship among all nations become synonymous with the word America.

"Bonjour! . . . It is good to be back with you in Paris," Robeson summed up his long absence. At a press conference the day before, he had telescoped his passport-less years between a moment of history and the present when he said:

"Some time ago, as I passed through France on my way to Spain with the fighting Loyalists, Marcel Cachin asked me to come amongst you. Here I am."

—**Anne Bauer**